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**Iranian Troops Reportedly Moved Near
Azerbaijani Border**

*MK0804121693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in
Russian 8 Apr 93 p 1*

[Aydyn Mekhtiyev report: "Karabakh Problem Has
Definitively Assumed International Dimensions, So Far
Only at Diplomatic Level"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The offensive by Armenian
forces against Fizuli has created a threat to the security
of Iranian borders. Hostilities are under way only 200
km from the Azerbaijani-Iranian border. A NEZAVISI-
MAYA GAZETA correspondent has learned from reli-
able sources that by order of the Iranian military com-
mand, two Iranian regiments, on full alert, have been
moved to the border with Azerbaijan. Tehran has made
it clear to the Azerbaijani leadership that should a call
for help be made to Iran, the Iranian Government is
prepared to take most decisive actions to protect Azer-
baijan's territorial integrity. On 6 April, a commentary
by Tehran radio, expressing the viewpoint of the Iranian
Government, sharply denounced Armenia's actions.
"The totally unjustified actions of Armenian troops
create a threat to the territorial integrity not only of
Azerbaijan, but also of the entire Caucasus and the
neighboring states," the commentary emphasized.

The administration of President Elchibey, however, has
so far attached no particular importance to Tehran's
thinly veiled hints at its possible intervention in the
conflict. Moreover, it has transpired that Abulfaz
Elchibey has not attempted to contact Iranian President
Hashemi-Rafsanjani on the phone during the past few
days, and all contacts between Baku and Tehran were
maintained through 'Ali Akbar Nehavandian, Iranian
ambassador to Baku. At the same time, Tehran reacted
extremely negatively to the fact that on 6 April Elchibey
asked help from Israel, a state with which Iran is on
hostile terms. According to the Azerbaijani president's
press service, Elchibey, speaking on the phone with

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, asked Tel Aviv to
give diplomatic support to Azerbaijan. The Israeli lead-
ership, however, has so far refrained from officially
denouncing Armenia's actions. [passage omitted]

The probability of Iran's and Turkey's involvement in
the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict has aroused serious
concern at the CIS Joint Armed Forces Command.
Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of
the CIS Joint Armed Forces, while stopping short of
denouncing Armenia's occupation of Kelbadzhar, pro-
posed that a meeting of defense officials of Azerbaijan
and Armenia be held in southern Russia to be mediated
by the CIS Joint Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

**Baltic Leaders Approve Clinton Housing
Assistance Plan**

*LD0804130693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in
Lithuanian 1100 GMT 8 Apr 93*

[Text] At the initiative of Estonian President Lennart
Meri, a joint statement of the Baltic council on the
movements of Russian soldiers was circulated today. It
was signed by the leaders of the three Baltic states:
Estonian President Lennart Meri; Anatolijs Gorbunovs,
the chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council; and
Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskus.

The statement reads: We approve of the plan by Presi-
dent Clinton to render assistance in building houses for
the returning Russian servicemen. We are in complete
agreement that this program will help to reduce tension
both in Russia itself and between Russia and its neigh-
bors. Since this directly affects our countries and since
we have experience in building houses for the Soviet
Army servicemen withdrawn from Eastern Europe, we
would like to offer our all-around assistance in imple-
menting this program.

We are prepared to meet with U.S. and Russian officials
at any time and at any place in order to discuss our
cooperation in implementing this plan.

Yeltsin Reportedly Offers To 'Broker' Karabakh Talks

LD0904101993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1003 GMT 9 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan April 9 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin offered to presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan to broker peace in Nagorno-Karabakh, according to a message received by the Armenian president on Friday [9 April].

A spokesman of Levon Ter-Petrosyan said Yeltsin expressed his concern over the escalation of combat activities in the region and said he is ready for the goodwill mission if presidents of both republics agree.

The Armenian leadership welcomes the initiative of Boris Yeltsin, Aram Abramyan said. "We view it as a chance to reach progress at talks in the CSCE framework which are impeded by unconstructive stand of several of the parties", he added.

Yerevan hopes that "the international prestige of Russia will help the conflicting parties to get out of the deadlock and reach considerable progress in overcoming the contraposition", the spokesman said.

He added that one European country had proposed to organise a pan-European conference on Nagorno-Karabakh. The Armenian leadership is considering that proposal as well, the spokesman added, but refused to name the country.

Grachev Mediates at Armenian-Azerbaijani Meeting

LD0804134593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1225 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Sochi, 8 Apr—Talks between representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan aimed at finding a way out of the sharply intensified conflict between the two neighboring states began today at the Russian Government dacha in Sochi under the mediation of Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev.

Taking part in the talks are Vazgen Sarkisyan, Armenian state minister for defense and security, Azerbaijani State Secretary Panakh Guseynov, and Azerbaijani First Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Abbasov.

According to Vazgen Sarkisyan, the talks are aimed at achieving a rapid cease-fire and a political solution to problems in Armenian-Azerbaijani relations. "These problems cannot be resolved by military means," he stressed in a conversation with journalists.

Opening the meeting, Pavel Grachev expressed the hope that a way out of the armed conflict could be found.

"The Russian people wish only for prosperity, good-neighborliness, and peace between our two friendly states and neighbors," he said.

Caucasian Forum Vows to Create Own Peacemaking Force

LD0804210493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Report by Mais Mamedov from Grozny; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] Judging by reports, Azerbaijan is beginning to acquire support in the conflict from its closest neighbors. The Caucasus will have its own peacemaking forces. This decision was made in Grozny today at a joint session of the bureaus of the consultative and higher religious councils of the Caucasian Home [Kavkazskiy Dom] International Forum.

[Begin Mamedov recording] Armenia's daily broadening of aggression against Azerbaijan, the tense situation in Abkhazia, and the Ossetian-Ingush confrontation were the main themes of today's session of the Caucasian Home International Forum. [passage omitted]

The session's participants decided to create a Caucasian Home Security Council. The council has been given the task of creating a peacemaking force in the immediate future. Volunteers from the citizens of the region will be activated in the force. It is possible that the Caucasian blue helmets will soon take part in constructing a lifeline corridor in Kelbadzhar Rayon, where Armenian Armed Forces have blockaded tens of thousands of local inhabitants. [passage omitted]

The participants in the session spoke with concern about the increased activities of Armenia's special services in a number of Caucasian republics. [passage omitted]

The participants sent an appeal to the world's heads of government and state and religious leaders calling for effective measures to curb Armenia's expansionist position. [end recording]

CIS Representatives Discuss Charter on Relations

LD0804220993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1742 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By a UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Kiev, 8 Apr—A meeting of CIS representatives to prepare and initial a draft charter on the basic principles of mutual relations between commonwealth member-states and a declaration on the bases of CIS economic cooperation has opened in the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry. These issues have been proposed by Ukraine at a regular session of the Commonwealth Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Governments.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 9 Apr

LD0904062593 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 0525
GMT 9 Apr 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 9 ITAR-TASS—Newspapers frontpage materials dealing with the forthcoming April 25 referendum. TRUD publishes an article about the stands of various parties and movements, which points out that Yeltsin's supporters are not unanimous in their opinion about the answer they should give to the third question of the referendum—about the pre-term election of the president. "From the point of view of simple logic, if one answered yes to the first question of the referendum about confidence in the president, it looks unreasonable to believe that it is necessary to hold pre-term presidential elections (the third question). However, taking into account the mechanism of presidential elections existing in Russia, by answering yes to the third question we shall give a chance to Yeltsin to run for presidency once again," the newspaper writes. TRUD believes that for Russian citizens, most of whom are not members of any political party, "there is no need to coordinate their positions with anybody."

PRAVDA writes that representatives of the parties of communist and socialist orientation met at its editorial office recently. They "came to the unanimous conclusion that they should urge their supporters to take part in the referendum".

Newspapers continue to publish details of the accident, which took place at a chemical complex in Tomsk on April 6. In the opinion of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the accident took place through the carelessness of the personnel. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries an article on this subject under the headline "Tomsk Accident: Specialists and Officials Pacify Public, But the Memory of the Chernobyl Tragedy Does Not Let People Believe Hasty Conclusions".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with young businessman Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, who is going to run for presidency at the first ever presidential elections in Kalmykia, integrated in the Russian federation. The elections are scheduled for April 11. The newspaper writes that Ilyumzhinov is financing the electoral campaign from his own funds. He is also subsidising from his own resources the retail prices of bread and milk in Kalmykia, which are lower by half there than in the rest of the Russian Federation. "If I am elected president, I shall immediately declare a moratorium on all rallies, demonstrations and strikes. I shall dissolve the parliament and local councils (soviets) on all levels, because they are drowning the reform, the same as any real undertaking, in empty and futile talk," Ilyumzhinov said.

The Kalmyk poet David Kuguldinov, one of the most popular people in the republic, has contributed an article to TRUD about the electoral campaign there. He writes

he is going to vote for Ilyumzhinov. "I did not denounce my membership in the Communist Party, where I had always advocated justice, and now I am not afraid of Kirsan Ilyumzhinov being a millionaire. He is very different from the other 'new rich' who have bad manners and no moral standards," Kuguldinov said.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries an article of its correspondent in Mordovia, whose parliament decided recently to eliminate the post of president in that republic, integrated in the Russian Federation. According to the newspaper, President Yeltsin described the decision of Mordovian legislators as the infringement on the integrity of the system of authority in the Russian Federation. "Irrespective of what turn the developments may take, it is clear that the confrontation between Yeltsin's supporters and opponents in Mordovia has not yet reached its peak," the newspaper believes.

The press continues to give wide coverage to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which aggravated again. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries an article about a press conference of Armenian Defence Minister Vazgen Manukyan in Yerevan, highlighting his statement that the borders inside the former Soviet Union were set not as a result of natural processes, like in Europe, for example, but in a most arbitrary way, and this is why they cannot be regarded as inviolable. Manukyan believes that the latest success of the Nagorno-Karabakh self-defence forces can make a strong impact on the political settlement of the problem and induce Azerbaijan to start talks. Newspapers report that representatives of the Armenian and Azeri leadership agreed to cease fire in the conflict zone today and to hold a meeting of the two countries' prime ministers in Moscow on April 13.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes that ten Russian frontier guards and one civilian, who were captured on April 5 on a difficult-of-access mountain pass in Tajikistan, are now in Afghanistan. Their return is being negotiated with Afghan field commanders.

Pavel Bunich, a well-known economist, has contributed an article to ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, in which he writes about the need for consolidating executive authority in Russia. "Now we should not discuss the need for the presidential authority in principle. It would be more suitable to discuss whether we need a strong or weak presidential republic. My answer is that Russia needs strong presidential power," Bunich stressed.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI carries an interview with Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, head of the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces, who stressed the importance of the continuation and deepening of the military reform. He said he was deeply confident that to hamper the military reform today is the same as to try and stop the drifting of the ice on a large river.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI publishes an article entitled "Secret of Three Oceans Exposed," which deals with

facts and problems, connected with the dumping of radioactive waste in the seas surrounding the territory of the former USSR.

VEK, the newspaper of business circles, carries the information of the Russian State Committee for Statistics, which shows that "the non-state sector of the Russian economy includes today numerous private,

cooperative and other enterprises, as well as individual farms." For example, according to the committee's information, "87 per cent of collective and state farms were reorganised in 1992 and in the first two months of 1993. They were transformed mostly into limited and mixed ps [as received] (65 per cent). Aside from it, some of them became closed joint-stock companies and associations of individual farmers."

Kozyrev Ends Visit to Pakistan, Arrives in Dushanbe

Signs Joint Statement

LD0804174593 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1511 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* special correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Islamabad, 8 Apr—Russia and Pakistan intend to cooperate for the purpose of strengthening peace and stability in the region and upholding human rights. They will consult each other in the fight against terrorism, illegal arms trafficking and the spread of narcotics. This is stated in a joint press statement at the end of the official visit to Pakistan of Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

The sides noted the progressive nature of the development of bilateral relations, and consider that as they take on the character of a partnership, conditions will be created for interaction in the sphere of high technology, in the peaceful exploration of space and the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, and also in the field of military technology.

The sides reaffirmed that they advocate creating a nuclear-free zone in Southern Asia. The Russian side supports the efforts of Pakistan and India to establish a dialogue, and urged that this process be stepped up. The Pakistani side stated its position on the situation in Kashmir, and gave an account of its efforts for a peaceful settlement. The Russian side, in turn, reaffirmed the need to solve the Kashmir problem by negotiation between India and Pakistan.

The Russian side expressed approval of Pakistan's efforts to promote peace and stability in Afghanistan. Russia and Pakistan consider that the Afghan groupings must observe the peace accords which they have concluded among themselves. Both sides noted that peace and calm can return to that country only with the participation of all groups and sections of Afghan society. Russia and Pakistan agreed to set up a joint working group and promote the earliest possible release of the Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan. They stressed once again that this is a purely humanitarian issue.

The statement highlights the anxiety of the sides over events in Tajikistan. Pakistan and Russia are ready to help initiate a political dialogue between the government of Tajikistan and the Opposition. The sides expressed deep concern over the continuing bloodshed and violation of human rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and they urged that this problem be settled by negotiation. Noting the deterioration of the situation surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh, Russia and Pakistan called for a solution to this conflict to be found as soon as possible, the statement says in conclusion.

[*ITAR-TASS* at 1645 GMT on 8 April transmits an additional report by correspondent Georgiy Shmelev, datelined Lahore, as follows: "The present state of the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia is naturally a cause of anxiety to the Russian side, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told journalists today on his arrival in Lahore from Islamabad. He said a new initiative toward settling the conflict can be expected in the very near future. Referring to the reactions of a number of the countries of the world to these events, the minister said that in his view 'is not a question of any military operations being carried out; what is happening, above all, is that a political stance is being articulated.' Of course one could wish, said the minister, that all countries would take a 'balanced view.' What is needed now is the maximum of restraint and an immediate search for a political settlement."]

To Check Border Situation in Tajikistan

LD0804125893 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1145 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Report by TIA "Khovar" correspondent Valeriy Zhukov for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe, 8 Apr—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived here today following the completion of his visit to Pakistan.

He told journalists at the airport that he had come to Tajikistan in order to learn about the situation in the country and, in particular, the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border.

Comments on Bosnia-Herzegovina

OW0804150293 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 1432 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Igor Porshnev, and Dimitriy Voskoboynikov; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kozyrev Reasserts That He Does Not See Any Reasonable Alternative to Vance-Owen Plan To Settle Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

"Let us not hasten events, we still have some time," the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev declared to Interfax special correspondent Igor Porshnev speaking about Russia's possible position during the voting in the U.N. Security Council on resolution on "tough" sanctions with respect to Bosnian Serbs. Our special correspondent, who accompanies the head of the Russian Foreign Ministry during his tour throughout the Middle Asian countries, asked Kozyrev whether Moscow would use its right for veto of necessary.

In Kozyrev's words, Russia has rather definitely formulated its position regarding the Vance-Owen plan on settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina and asserts that "there no reasonable alternative" to this plan.

The Minister noted that the decision made by Skupshchina of the Bosnian Serbs, who in contrast to Bosnian Croats and Moslems have not signed the Vance-Owen plan, arouses concern. However, he said, following a more thorough analysis one can say that "there is no 100-per cent refusal" in the Bosnian Serbs' decision, they recognize this plan "in general." Kozyrev said that the Bosnian Serbs are experiencing difficulties attributed to adoption of "the proposed card" which stipulates that Bosnia and Herzegovina must be divided into 10 para-autonomous regions.

It is necessary to use all appropriate means in order to force warring parties, primarily the Bosnian Serbs, to adopt the Vance-Owen plan in principal and to continue work on the remained disputable issues.

Reports That Russia Will Shortly Put Forward an Initiative To Settle the Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh

In the near future Russia will present its initiative to settle the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev reported to Interfax special correspondent on Thursday.

He preferred not to reveal details of this initiative beforehand.

Commenting Turkey's position, which voiced several "tough" statements with respect to Armenia, Kozyrev said that as far as he knows, it does not concern Ankara's possible military activities. "We would like that all countries demonstrate certain restraint though emotions can easily be explained under the present situation," said Kozyrev.

And Will Urge Tajik Authorities To Begin Dialogue With Moderate Opposition

According to Interfax sources, the Russian delegation, led by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, which arrived in Dushanbe from Islamabad on Thursday, will urge the Tajik authorities to begin talks with the moderate opposition.

On Thursday, Kozyrev is expected to visit a border-guard unit on the Tajik-Afghan border and meet with chairman of the Tajik parliament Imamali Rakhmanov.

Our special correspondent Igor Porshnev, who accompanied the foreign minister, reports that Kozyrev's earlier-planned meeting with a representative of the Afghan authorities will obviously not take place due to the current formation of the Afghan government. Kozyrev told Russian journalists on Thursday that in Islamabad, he was assured that Pakistan would not encourage extremist moods in Tajikistan.

Kozyrev also noted that Moscow and Islamabad would jointly help Tajikistan's legitimate government to stand firmly on its feet.

Departs Tajikistan 'Urgently' for Moscow

LD0804195693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Apr 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The INTERFAX agency has reported that Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has suddenly cut short his trip to the Central Asian republics and is urgently returning to Moscow. The reason for this is not yet known.

Cuts Short Central Asia Visit

LD0804220893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] Having ended his visit to Dushanbe, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev left for Moscow late on the evening of 8 April. During his stay there, he visited border outposts of the Pyandj and Moskovskiy border guard units, where he met with commanding officers and talked about the problems connected with the situation at the Tajik-Afghan border.

In Dushanbe, the minister met with Tajikistan's Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmonov, Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdullodzhonov, and Foreign Minister Rashid Olimov. According to his initial plans, the Russian minister's working visit to Central Asia should have included Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. However, Kozyrev cut his visit short and left by air for Moscow.

Reasserts Support for Vance-Owen Plan

OW0904030093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0204 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Let us not hasten events, we still have some time," the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev answered in response to the question posed by INTERFAX Special Correspondent Igor Porshnev on Russia's position might be during the voting in the UN Security Council on resolutions for "tough" sanctions with respect to Bosnian Serbs. Our special correspondent, who accompanies the head of the Russian Foreign Ministry during his tour throughout the Middle Asian countries, asked Kozyrev whether Moscow would use its right to veto if necessary.

In Kozyrev's words, Russia has rather definitely formulated its position regarding the Vance-Owen plan on settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina and asserts that "there no reasonable alternatives" to this plan.

The minister noted that the decision made by Skupshchina of the Bosnian Serbs, who in contrast to Bosnian Croats and Muslims have not signed the Vance-Owen plan, arouses concern. However, he said, following a more thorough analysis one can say that "there is no 100-percent refusal" in the Bosnian Serbs' decision, they recognize this plan "in general." Kozyrev said that the

Bosnian Serbs are experiencing difficulties attributed to adoption of "the proposed card" which stipulates that Bosnia and Herzegovina must be divided into 10 para-autonomous regions.

It is necessary to use all appropriate means in order to force warring parties, primarily the Bosnian Serbs, to adopt the Vance- Owen plan in principal and to continue work on the remaining disputable issues.

Comments on Karabakh Conflict

OW0904030793 Moscow INTERFAX in English
0205 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the near future Russia will present its initiative to settle the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev reported to an INTERFAX special correspondent on Thursday [8 April].

He preferred not to reveal details of this initiative beforehand.

Commenting on Turkey's position, which voiced several "tough" statements with respect to Armenia, Kozyrev said that as far as he knows, it does not concern Ankara's possible military activities. "We would like that all countries demonstrate certain restraint though emotions can easily be explained in the present situation," said Kozyrev.

Views G-7 Talks

OW0904084393 Moscow INTERFAX in English
0756 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A request by President Yeltsin has proved the main reason for Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's early return to Moscow. Yeltsin decided that Kozyrev should attend a meeting with the heads of the diplomatic missions accredited to Moscow. The President scheduled the meeting for Friday [9 April] (16.00) [1200 GMT]. Kozyrev told INTERFAX in an exclusive interview early Friday morning.

Initially, Kozyrev was to visit Tashkent and Ashgabat after Dushanbe and only then to return to Moscow Saturday [10 April].

In his words, the postponement of his trip to Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan did not mean the cancellation of the visits, which, he said "would take place very soon".

Kozyrev may visit these CIS Central Asian republics before his working trip to Tokyo shortly before the special G-7 meeting on aid to Russia in the Japanese capital. It has not been ruled out that the minister may travel to these republics at a later date. "There are options", according to Kozyrev, who intended to get in

touch with the leaders of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan on Friday to agree the dates for the visits.

The minister described as fruitful his visit to Dushanbe, where he had held a long meeting with the leaders of Tajikistan (Parliament Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov and Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdullodzhonov).

After inspecting two border units in Tajikistan, Kozyrev said "the situation on the border with Afghanistan is complex but not hopeless". He reaffirmed Russia's intention to help reinforce the Russo-Afghan frontier. "That meets the national interests of Russia," the minister said.

In the words of Galina Sidorova, the minister's political adviser, one practical result of Kozyrev's visit to Dushanbe was agreement reached on an early visit to Moscow by Rakhmanov to sign a treaty that would consolidate relations between Russia and Tajikistan.

Commentary on South Asia Tour

PM0804133993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Apr 93 p 1

[Pavel Shinkarenko "Commentary": " 'You Have Not Just a Special Role, But a Special Responsibility...' Andrey Kozyrev Continues His Trip through the Countries of West and Central Asia]

[Text] Yesterday the Russian foreign minister had thorough conversations in Islamabad with Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mohammad Siddique Kanjoo. The cycle of talks and consultations with leaders of West and Central Asia, which was interrupted for the duration of the Russian-American summit in Vancouver, have thus been continued. This was preceded by a visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran; meetings with the leaders of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan lie ahead. A short exchange of opinions with representatives of Afghanistan on the Tajik-Afghan border could also take place.

Russia's interest in this region is warranted, and not just because our country has become the legal successor of the former USSR in the world arena. Moscow is worried about the security of its own southern borders, beyond which bloody fighting goes on unabated. Nagorno-Karabakh, the Transcaucasus, Tajikistan, Afghanistan... Russia's diplomatic service is doing all within its power to ensure that this zone of enmity be replaced by a zone of peace and accord.

The uncertain fate of Soviet POWs who fell into the mojahedin's hands during the Afghan War remains a source of constant anguish. According to Russian Federation Foreign Ministry figures, several dozen still remain in the region. Their names and approximate whereabouts are known, but you need goodwill not only on the part of the local authorities but field commanders too, plus, sometimes, large sums of money before prisoners regain their freedom. Tehran has already promised its

assistance. It is possible Islamabad will act likewise. Diplomats are pinning even greater hopes on the meeting with envoys from Kabul.

"We understand your interests in the region," Andrey Kozyrev was told in Tehran. "But you have not just a special role, but a special responsibility. Therefore Russia's actions should be strictly gauged..." The idea is certainly reasonable, and it is wholly in keeping with the concept of Russian foreign policy.

The bipolar world, which still quite recently divided people into two military-political camps, has collapsed, and this has made it possible to establish mutually beneficial contacts with all countries without paying heed to short-term political considerations. There is only one criterion—they should not be at odds with the generally accepted standards and recommendations of the United Nations. Therefore, not just India, but Pakistan too are becoming businesslike trading partners of ours.

We must not, I think, miss that opportunity. If, say, London sells Islamabad six combat planes to modernize the Pakistani Navy, why cannot Moscow offer its combat planes, helicopters, and anti-missile systems? We can also remember the time when the Pakistanis were very pleased to buy Soviet televisions and refrigerators and sought to cooperate in the sphere of light industry, the peaceful use of outer space, and the development of communications systems. We were offered an extensive trade and economic collaboration program in Tehran, including orders to supply three Russian submarines, several dozen aircraft and tanks, and the construction of a powerful atomic electric power station in Iran.

Andrey Kozyrev's visit will, I think, give a fresh boost to such mutually beneficial projects.

U.S. Aid Package Hailed Despite 'Few Weak Spots'

*PM0804092793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Apr 93 First Edition pp 1, 3*

[Vladimir Mikheyev report: "Clinton Administration Backs Russia's Democratic Choice"]

[Text] A postscript to the Vancouver summit can be reduced to a significant event: The U.S. Government led by Bill Clinton has deemed it advisable to support once and for all Boris Yeltsin's team, with which the further reform of Russia via a market economy and Western-style democracy is identified.

Whereas previously President Yeltsin was, in the opinion of France's LES ECHOS, told "Help yourself and the West will help you," now a sizable check has been written out to meet specific needs.

The U.S. President was undoubtedly guided by "ideological" considerations, in the good sense of the word,

being reluctant to see a repeat of the tremendous confrontation between two incompatible social systems that led to teetering on the brink of nuclear destruction, the division of the world into "them" and "us," local conflicts on which superpower rivalry was focused, and of course the arms race. In other words, in order to escape from the past and fully exploit the "peace dividend," efforts were needed to turn Russia into a real partner and potential ally.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel was even more definite in expressing his opinion—as a European he perhaps has a keener view of the danger of humiliating a former power. A democratic, politically stable, and economically sound Russia occupying a fitting place in the international arena as a responsible and predictable partner is our common concern. He added that financial backing for the new Russia is "not charity, but an investment in the future." It is, admittedly, worth remembering that our neighbors are concerned not so much by the likelihood of a return to Cold War times as by political instability and chaos that might "spread" into the rest of Europe.

The financial aid package allocated to Russia by the U.S. Government has two merits at the same time, for both the ordinary Russian citizen and the ordinary U.S. taxpayer. For the former the attraction of the \$1.6 billion check is that it is specifically divided up among the areas that IZVESTIYA mentioned yesterday. Although skeptics will probably try to belittle the significance of the \$35 million, for instance, that is being assigned to "boost Russia's key power generation sector and step up efforts to combat environmental pollution caused by oil and gas pipeline systems," these are real sums of money earmarked for real purposes.

There is another important point: Three-fourths of this money will be spent on the needs of rayons and regions outside Moscow. In three out of four cases the state is acting only as the moral sponsor, while the U.S. private sector is doing the work.

Officials' assurances that the White House will take determined steps to remove the last "relics" of the era of confrontation—namely the Jackson-Vanik amendment and other legislative restrictions that stifled the opportunities for equal, mutually beneficial trade cooperation—sounded reassuring for the first time in Vancouver. To use the U.S. secretary of state's expression, Bill Clinton came to the opinion that these administrative-edict bans "have become outdated... and are not relevant to the new Russia."

Personal acquaintance with Boris Yeltsin also helped reinforce the U.S. Administration's view that Moscow needs moral and psychological support as well as the financial aid package. "He struck me as an extremely strong figure," U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher said. "Political activity is in his nature, he is a prominent figure, and he has a sense of humor." On

another occasion the secretary of state was even more unambiguous: "There is still no other reformer in Russia."

Whereas it is hard to find weak points in the text of the Vancouver declaration or in officials' statements regarding the results of the summit, the overall context of bilateral relations, it must be acknowledged, does leave room for criticism. Criticism directed at Russia's Western partners, who despite their loud promises of aid are keeping the way clear to back out. How else can you interpret what Brent Scowcroft, former U.S. presidential national security adviser, said? He recalls quite deliberately the G-7's difficulties with regard to aid for Moscow: The German economy is currently in "bad shape," Britain has barely started to emerge from recession, and Japan is still keeping "aloof." Add to this the comments of observers who cite the considerable opposition within the U.S. Congress to an increase in foreign aid. Is that right?

You must bear in mind that professionals from the Clinton team have envisaged all possible complications. That is why the amount of aid, although it may play an important role in encouraging Russian reforms in the short term, is negligible by U.S. standards—suffice it to say that last year the federal government allocated Los Angeles twice as much following the race riots. But owing to its size this aid package for Russia will most likely be graciously rubber-stamped by the legislators on Capitol Hill.

Here is another important element. A considerable proportion of the \$700 million with which we can buy grain with which to bake bread and feed livestock (around 40 percent in the worst case scenario) will be used to pay transportation costs. The U.S. side particularly stipulated that three-fourths of all supplies must be shipped by vessels under the U.S. flag. However, freight rates are higher in the United States than elsewhere.

But those are only the few weak spots in the "Clinton package." Ultimately the industrially developed countries had earlier agreed one of the key principles of partnership and aid for Russia: The G-7 does not overestimate the significance of the support that it is affording Russia—"for self-help."

Virtually by 25 April Russian citizens will be able to perceive the benefits of the Clinton administration's one-shot good deed designed for the long term. But the main thing is that Washington has made up its mind once and for all and put major capital investment into reforms in Russia, thus taking on considerable moral and diplomatic commitments.

Ministry, U.S. Firm To Jointly Build Nuclear Reactor

OW0904032193 Moscow INTERFAX in English
0207 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Ministry of Nuclear Energetics (MINATOM) and U.S. General Atomics announced their intention last Tuesday to develop and build a new type of a nuclear reactor. Used as fuel in the new reactor will be plutonium extracted from discarded nuclear warheads as a result of reductions of Russia's nuclear arsenals.

The new nuclear power plant will consummate as a hi-tech helium-cooled thermal reactor complete with a gas turbine generator (at present, both Russia and the U.S. have only experimental prototypes of such reactors). A gas turbine for the new reactor will be developed jointly by the two parties. The use of a gas turbine is expected to increase the efficiency of the new power plant to 50% against 33% which is average efficiency of liquid-cooled reactors currently in use.

According to the protocol of intentions which was signed in Moscow on April 1, the project will be implemented by a specially set U.S.-Russian joint venture with the participation of leading American nuclear specialists. The partners will have equal shares in the joint venture.

In addition to the development and construction of this reactor in Russia—the terms and site of its construction is yet to be determined—the newly-incepted joint venture will also address commercial utilization of the new reactors.

According to the estimates of U.S. specialists, the development of the new reactor, whose experimental model is likely to go into operation in ten years, will require capital investments amounting up to \$100 Mn.

Questions Relating to START II Viewed

PM0804140193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 93
p 5

[Article by Vladimir Potapov: "What Is Impeding Treaty"]

[Excerpts] The START II Treaty is being discussed, but sometimes one is merely left feeling more bitter at the way this "democratic" procedure is advancing. Because in their desire to push through the document signed by B. Yeltsin and G. Bush officials have "marked out" in advance the field of discussion in the Supreme Soviet. For greater "pluralism" all dissenters on this question are pushed there. The result is that the talk is proceeding according to a preset theme. And the direction of the debate is determined by the same caste of people, the result of whose "professional activity" has been the collapse of a great power and Russia's surrender of its geopolitical positions on all salients.

One would not have formed the impression that what is happening under present conditions is obviously intentional had attention been focused not on the problem of whether or not to legitimize the START II Treaty but on the concept of safeguarding Russia's security and defending its national interests and on the choice of methods required for this. I immediately stipulate that

we are in favor of disarmament but for us the problem is the conditions under which it will proceed and how to turn this inevitable process to the Fatherland's advantage. [passage omitted]

I should like to hear intelligible arguments on the following subject: Will nuclear geopolitical equilibrium not be definitively destroyed with the disarmament of Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan? After all, our peoples created the nuclear shield together so should we chop up its pieces so hastily? The stage managers of the collapse of the Union did not consider the peoples' desire to live together or the risk of lack of nuclear control. Perhaps they think we are now bound to be at odds? And if not the task of our diplomatic services could be to ensure the unity of strategic defense.

Meanwhile one forms the impression that on nuclear disarmament issues the Russian Foreign Ministry is working in liaison with Washington against Kiev. But perhaps, on the contrary, Washington is using Kiev and Moscow to put reciprocal pressure on each other? With a view to their event greater isolation. It is clear that this benefits neither Russia nor Ukraine: Our military complexes make up a single whole. In isolation we cannot even maintain the security of the arms we already have. And there is no point. The United States is supplying Britain with new nuclear warheads. That means that in the "civilized world" such mutual understanding is an everyday occurrence. But those who only recently, in the unified Fatherland, we shouting more loudly than anyone against the creation of a "common enemy" in the shape of the West are trying to turn our peoples, who share the same blood, into enemies. [passage omitted]

Until there are clear answers to these and other questions, until clear guidelines emerge for Russia's national interests in the world, and until the means of achieving them are approved, society will not accept as radical a document as START II. It could be imposed. But that is not the same thing. And the more strongly semi-official propaganda tries to push it through, the more the opinion will strengthen among the people and among army circles that the interest of the supporters of the country's total disarmament will appear to be selfish.

Talks With Georgian Delegation 'Stumbled'

*LD0804171093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1507 GMT 8 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Andrey Naryshkin and Irina Schegoleva]

[Text] Sochi April 8 TASS—The Russian and Georgian governmental delegations stumbled over how to settle the major military-political issue—the conflict in Abkhazia.

The Georgian variant is inadmissible for Russia, Defence Minister Pavel Grachev told reporters during a break in the meeting on Thursday [8 April].

He said "Georgia puts all obligations in implementing the agreement on Russia, leaves nothing for itself, and the third party—Abkhazia—is not mentioned at all".

Experts are now looking for a compromise. "If the military-political question is not solved there is no need for me to meet (Eduard) Shevardnadze at the current stage", Grachev said.

"In this case we shall state the very fact of holding negotiations on the most actual questions and the necessity to continue them", he stressed.

It was agreed in principle that Russia will provide humanitarian aid to the most hit regions of Abkhazia.

Grachev Comments on Abkhazia

*LD0804225793 Moscow Ostankino Television First
Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Apr 93*

[By Aleksandr Barkhatov from Sochi; passages within quotation remarks are recorded]

[Text] [Barkhatov] Today's talks with Georgia could not be called successful. The rapprochement that had previously begun to develop was forgotten. Reports by agencies about an accord that allegedly existed on the withdrawal of troops from Abkhazia did not correspond with reality. In short, not one of the crucial military issues was resolved. So the actual prospect of an end to the war grows more distant.

[Pavel Grachev] "Since on the whole, the obligations here are placed on the Russian side, the Georgian side takes practically no responsibility, while the third side, Abkhazia, is not mentioned at all."

[Barkhatov] Meanwhile, it is very probable that the tragedy in Tkvarcheli could increase military losses at any moment. The ventilation system in the coal mines is not working because the Georgian side has cut off the electricity supply. There is a dangerous underground accumulation of methane. An explosion—after all, the mines are adjacent to the Inguri hydroelectric power station—could destroy the dam. In that case, the catastrophe would sweep away, not just the river banks, but two Georgian rayons.

[Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua] "Both sides must keep to the conditions here. Do not cut off Sukhumi, and Tkvarcheli will not be cut off. However, the question is being asked in a one-sided way here. What can be done about Tkvarcheli? Well, what can be done about Sukhumi?"

[Barkhatov] In the situation that has developed, Grachev sees no sense in continuing talks in Tbilisi, where he has been invited by Eduard Shevardnadze.

Also today—outside the framework of the talks between the Russian and Georgian Government delegations—Russian Defense Minister Grachev took part in another meeting. At the instruction of the Russian president,

Grachev acted in the role as mediator in talks held behind closed doors between Azerbaijan State Secretary Guseynov and Armenian Defense Minister Sarkisyan. The short meeting proved to be unusually productive. Armenia and Azerbaijan adopted a decision on a cease-fire beginning at 1200 hours tomorrow, with peace talks to be held subsequently in Moscow at the prime ministerial level.

[Grachev] "I sensed especially acutely from both sides that the leaders were tired of waging this fruitless war, and now both sides have arrived faster than ever before at a solution to this disputed issue."

Difficulties Reported

LD0804184593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1733 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Schegoleva]

[Text] Sochi April 8 TASS—"If Russian troops do not withdraw from the conflict zone we shall not come to terms," Tengiz Kitovani, member of the Georgian delegation at talks with Russia, told journalists on Thursday [8 April].

"If the Russian side does not meet us half-way, I shall not sign any agreements. The talks have evidently come to a deadlock," he said.

However, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov voiced a different opinion after three days of talks in Sochi, saying that "the sides had come to terms on many issues, but some principal questions have to be settled yet."

Touching upon the work of a group of experts for economic issues, Pastukhov told journalists that the solution of economic problems was closely connected with the settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. "During these days the experts have created the necessary basis for making sharp progress in developing economic ties," Pastukhov said.

The talks will continue on Friday.

Draft Agreements Exchanged

OW0804220693 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2117 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the Russo-Georgian negotiations in Sochi sides have exchanged new drafts of an agreement. Debate on these documents is scheduled to be renewed at 23:00 p.m.

In an interview to "Interfax" the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Boris Pastukhov said the new variants of the agreement bear no reference to concessions. Sides seek the optimal solution to the Abkhazian dispute, he explained.

The sides are not expected to complete negotiations on Thursday and they will continue the next day.

The head of the Russian delegation, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev speculates that if compromise is not achieved at the current talks, experts of the two countries will meet again to prepare a possible presidential summit, once the Georgian side has analyzed Russian proposals.

Georgia's Kitovani Not To Sign Accord

LD0804220393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] Georgian Defense Minister [Tengiz] Kitovani stated that he will not sign any agreements with Moscow until Russian troops are withdrawn from the conflict zone in Abkhazia. He expressed the view that the Russian-Georgian talks in Sochi have reached deadlock, since according to Kitovani Moscow is not meeting them halfway on the issue of the withdrawal of troops.

In turn the Russian side is dissatisfied with other aspects of the talks. They said today that the original draft agreement for a peace settlement in Abkhazia was unacceptable, since according to them the main commitments under the agreement are put upon Russia.

The Georgian side is virtually undertaking nothing, while nothing in general is being said about Abkhazia, the third party.

One further thing figures among the topics discussed in Sochi. The Georgian representatives stated that they would reveal facts about the involvement of the Russian military in the fighting in Abkhazia. So far, however, they have not done so for some reason.

Georgian Provocation of Russian Servicemen Denied

LD0904122493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1158 GMT 9 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Gvirtshviliy]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—Members of a permanent international commission for civic diplomacy on the Abkhazian conflict, who have just returned from the conflict zone, consider groundless recent statements made by a number of top leaders of the Russian Defence Ministry, including the Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev, about provocations by the Georgian military against Russian servicemen and Russian military facilities in Abkhazia and about encroachments on the Russian population in Sukhumi.

At a news conference held in Moscow today, Nikolay Byko, the head of the mission consisting mostly of representatives of intelligentsia and registered by the Russian Ministry of Justice, said that following these statements the commission carried out a public investigation with the participation of independent experts.

In Byko's opinion, the majority of Russian accusations were refuted in the course of the investigation. Moreover, the commission had confirmed the participation of the Russian Air Force in bombardments of Sukhumi, "as a result of which over 1,200 houses were damaged, 109 peaceful civilians killed and 326 wounded, including 24 and 61 Russians, accordingly. Over 300 Russian residents of Sukhumi were interrogated who said that they did not experience any discrimination and came out for the immediate cessation of shelling and bombardments of Sukhumi."

"There are all grounds to believe that high-ranking Russian servicemen are attempting to draw Russia into another military and political adventure similar to that in Afghanistan," Byko said.

The mission expressed confidence that "the cessation of Russian military interference into the Abkhazian conflict will immediately lead to the beginning of talks between the conflicting sides and in the long run, will bring peace to fraternal people."

Defense Ministry Protests Over Black Sea Fleet

LD0804162293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1309 GMT 8 Apr 93

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] [Announcer] The Russian Defense Ministry has protested to the Ukrainian Defense Ministry over unlawful acts with regard to the Black Sea Fleet. I contacted Major General (Sergin), head of the press service of the Russian Defense Ministry, on the phone.

(Valeriy Akimovich), we are listening to you.

[[Sergin]] The Russian Defense Ministry expects the Ukrainian side to take effective measures to revoke all acts adopted unilaterally, to stop unlawful actions by representatives of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry with regard to the Black Sea Fleet, and also to call to account officials who have committed breaches of the top-level accords on the Black Sea Fleet. As for the Russian Defense Ministry, it has always strived and will continue to strive for strict compliance with all jointly worked out juridical provisions on the Black Sea Fleet, for cooperation with the Ukrainian side on the basis of signed agreements, and for the normalization of the situation in and around the Black Sea Fleet.

[Announcer] (Valeriy Akimovich), tell us please, what form does this interference take? Can you cite cases of breaches?

[[Sergin]] By all means. In spite of the provision of the Yalta agreement stipulating that only conscripts should take the oath, the Ukrainian Defense Ministry is continuing to make servicemen take the Ukrainian oath, and it is attempting to subordinate whole formations and units of the Black Sea Fleet to Ukraine. This took place in particular in January 1993 in Izmail. An armed group

from the Ukrainian naval forces seized the 635th joint depot there. Its chief and deputy were dismissed from their posts for refusing to swear allegiance to Ukraine. The actions by the Ukrainian side, which in effect authorized the operation to take an (SK-112) patrol vessel in July 1992 from Donuzlav, were flagrant breaches of international law.

In spite of our numerous protests and demands for the return of this vessel to the Black Sea Fleet, the Ukrainian side has refused even to reply.

Here is another example for you: On 15 March, a representative of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, First Rank Captain (Karchenko), using an armed group of men, hindered the planned transfer of two self-propelled diving craft from Ochakov to Donuzlav, threatening to use force. These actions were carried out on the personal instruction of Rear Admiral Kozhin, commander of Ukraine's Naval Forces, and were subsequently endorsed by Ukrainian Defense Minister Colonel General Morozov in his telegram no. 272 of 18 March 1993.

Apart from these facts, I can add that the Ukrainian Defense Ministry is constantly trying to command the Black Sea Fleet, bypassing the presidents of Russia and Ukraine, to whom the Black Sea Fleet has been directly subordinated during the transition period. The Ukrainian Defense Ministry issues dozens of orders and directives and a variety of instructions and commands that are essentially a direct interference in the internal life and activity of the Black Sea Fleet.

Ministry Protests Ukraine's 'Illegal Actions' on Fleet

LD0804204093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1916 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaitskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—The obvious aim of raising a question about the denunciation of the Yalta Agreement is that "the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense is seeking to have full freedom for organizing new adventures in respect of the Black Sea Navy," according to a statement by the Russian Defense Ministry released here today in connection with the statement by the Ukrainian Defense Ministry published on April 2 which said about the possibility of suspending the action of the Yalta Agreement.

The statement by the Russian Defense Ministry stresses that the Ukrainian side "is making yet another attempt to free itself of the responsibility for dragging out the talks between the delegations of Russia and Ukraine on the implementation of the agreements on the problems of the Black Sea Navy, for the course of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry towards the demoralization and the break-up of the combat-ready fleet and for its attempts to forcibly change the structure of the Navy and make it Ukrainian."

The document says the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense has been systematically violating the Yalta Agreement since the day of its signing. The Ukrainian Military Office constantly tries to be in command of the Black Sea Navy passing over the presidents of Russia and Ukraine to whom the Black Sea Fleet is directly subordinated for the transition period.

The document stresses that the Russian Defense Ministry "is lodging a vigorous protest to the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense in connection with those illegal actions and expects from the Ukrainian side to take effective measures to abolish all unilaterally adopted acts and stop illegal actions by the representatives of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense with respect to the Black Sea Fleet."

The Coordination Council of Officers' Meetings of the Black Sea Fleet appealed to the union of officers of the naval formations of Ukraine with an open letter in which it urges Ukrainian sailors not to incite enmity and distrust between them and not to create a new spiral of tension in the Crimea and Sevastopol.

A spokesman for the headquarters of the Black Sea Fleet told ITAR-TASS that this letter was a reply to the address of the union of officers of the naval formations of Ukraine to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine in which the Black Sea Fleet is called "the fifth column on the Ukrainian territory".

The Coordination Council of Officers' Meetings of the Black Sea Fleet considers the accusations against sailors of the Black Sea Navy "outrageous and insulting their honour and dignity."

Ministry Says Kiev Tries 'To Ukrainize' Black Sea Fleet

*OW0904030293 Moscow INTERFAX in English
0205 GMT 9 Apr 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Defense Ministry has rejected accusations put forward by the Ukrainian Defense Department saying that Russia undertakes unilateral actions with respect to the Black Sea Fleet in violation of the Yalta agreement on the Black Sea Fleet. The statement of the Russian Defense Ministry says that having not presented any concrete facts testifying to the violation of this agreement by the Russian Defense Ministry, the Ukrainian party makes one more effort to avoid responsibility for the delaying of negotiations between the State delegations of Russia and Ukraine on the questions of the Black Sea Fleet as well as for the course elected by Ukraine's Defense Ministry which is aimed at breaking up the fleet and to forcibly change its structure and to Ukrainize.

For its part, the Russian Defense Ministry accused the Ukrainian party of systematic violations of the Yalta agreement "literally since the day of its signing." The

statement of the Russian Defense Ministry enumerates concrete examples of violations of the above mentioned agreements and norms of international law.

Ukraine's Defense Ministry, the statement continues, permanently tries to command the Black Sea Fleet bypassing the Russian and Ukrainian Presidents, though the Fleet is in their direct subordination during the interim period. "The true essence of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry's projects is clearly evident in the final phrase of its statement, it reads that there is a necessity to consider the issue, in Ukraine's Supreme Soviet, of suspending the Yalta agreement," the statement emphasizes.

The Russian Defense Ministry declares its resolute protest to the Ukrainian Defense Ministry due to illegal actions and awaits the Ukrainian party to undertake efficient measures to abolish all acts adopted unilaterally, to prevent illegal actions of representatives of Ukraine's Defense Ministry with respect to the Black Sea Fleet, and to make answer those officials who have permitted the violation of agreements on the Black Sea Fleet reached at the supreme level.

TV Reports on Nuclear Weapons Dispute With Ukraine

*PM0804095793 Moscow Ostankino Television First
Channel Network in Russian 0500 GMT 6 Apr 93*

[By A. Gerasimov and N. Fedorov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The Russian Government has issued a statement. It expresses concern over Ukraine's position on the nuclear weapons stationed on its territory. The statement puts forward proposals to guarantee their safety.

[Gerasimov] The statement was prompted by certain Ukrainian politicians' claims to possession of nuclear weapons, which contravene the Lisbon Protocol to the START I Treaty and the agreement between heads of CIS states on participating in the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. But even greater alarm is caused by the technical condition of the missiles located on Ukrainian territory. As we were told at the headquarters of Russia's Strategic Rocket Forces, Ukraine's Defense Ministry, having assumed administrative control over all combat units, is failing to allocate the material resources to carry out routine preventive maintenance work and is stopping Russian specialists from gaining access to the launch sites. Nuclear missiles are always potentially dangerous. The headquarters of Russia's Strategic Rocket Forces has repeatedly informed the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense about the state of affairs in launch silos, but Kiev takes the view that the Russian military are trying to blackmail them in the pursuit of political aims. One way or another, the statement demands the immediate adoption of balanced decisions, especially as the Ukrainian leadership, vested with the right to prevent missile launches from its territory, bears

as much responsibility as the Russian Government for the security of our peoples. [Video shows archive footage of mobile missile launchers, launch silos, launch site.]

Foreign Ministry Says Ukraine's Position Undermines START I

*OW0904114293 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1122 GMT 9 Apr 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moscow has said that the Ukrainian Government's position on nuclear weapons indicated Kiev's reluctance to implement the Lisbon Protocol to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. This undermined the implementation of the START-I Treaty, a high-ranking Russian diplomat told INTERFAX on Friday [9 April].

Head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information Department Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told INTERFAX that the Ukrainian Cabinet's statement on the strategic nuclear arms located on its territory suggested that Ukraine was raising the issue of possessing nuclear weapons. The document confirmed Ukraine's right to own the nuclear components of these weapons. "According to international law, nuclear components refer to the class of 'nuclear weapons,'" he said. "Generally speaking, this goes against Ukraine's commitments as a nuclear state, documented in the Lisbon Protocol, and undermines the implementation of the START-I Treaty," he concluded.

Defense Ministry on Ukraine's Unlawful Acts

PM0804174093 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Apr 93 p 1

["Statement of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry"—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA headline; dated not given]

[Text] On 2 April of this year the Ukrainian Defense Ministry published a statement accusing the Russian Defense Ministry of unilateral actions with regard to the Black Sea Fleet, violating the 3 August 1992 Yalta Agreement on the Black Sea Fleet.

Without citing a single specific instance of the violation of this agreement on the part of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry, the Ukrainian side, in its statement, makes yet another attempt to disclaim responsibility for the dragging out of talks between Russian and Ukrainian state delegations on the implementation of the accords already reached by the presidents on the problems of the Black Sea Fleet, for the Ukrainian Defense Ministry's chosen course toward the breakup and disintegration of a combat-ready fleet, and for the attempts to change its structure and Ukrainianize it by force. The Ukrainian Defense Ministry has been systematically violating the Yalta Agreement literally since the day it was signed.

Thus, contrary to the provisions of the Yalta Agreement stipulating that only conscripts should take the oath, servicemen are still being induced to swear the Ukrainian oath and attempts are still being made to transfer entire formations and units of the Black Sea Fleet to Ukraine's jurisdiction. This happened, in particular, in January 1993 in Izmailo. An armed Ukrainian Navy group there seized the 635th consolidated depot, and its chief and deputy chief were relieved of their posts for refusing to take the Ukrainian oath.

The actions of the Ukrainian side, which in effect sanctioned the hijacking of the SKR-113 from Donuzlav in July 1992, constitute a gross violation of international law. Despite our numerous protests and demands for the return of this ship to the Black Sea Fleet, the Ukrainian side has refused even to reply. Moreover the pirate ship was unilaterally incorporated in the Ukrainian Navy and ostentatiously entered Sevastopol flying the Ukrainian flag and under the command of the officer who carried out this crime against his duty.

On 15 March of this year Captain 1st Rank A.L. Karpenko, a representative of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, with the help of an armed group, prevented, under threat of the use of arms, the planned transfer of two diving tenders from Ochakov to Donuzlav. These actions were carried out on the personal instructions of Rear Admiral B.B. Kozhin, commander of the Ukrainian Navy, and were subsequently approved by the Ukrainian Defense Ministry (by Colonel General K.P. Morozov in his telegram No. 272/Navy of 18 March 1993).

The Ukrainian Defense Ministry is constantly trying to exercise command over the Black Sea Fleet, bypassing the Russian and Ukrainian presidents, under whose direct jurisdiction the Black Sea Fleet was placed for the transitional period. It issues dozens of orders, directives, and various kinds of instructions and guidance which amount basically to direct interference in the internal life and activity of the Black Sea Fleet. Here are just a few recent examples.

Ukrainian Deputy Defense Minister Lieutenant General G. Zhivitsa, in a 21 February 1993 telegram, instructed the commander of the Black Sea Fleet to decide all matters relating to the service of the fleet's officer personnel and warrant officers only after coordination with the Ukrainian Defense Ministry.

Colonel General A. Lopata, chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces Main Staff, on 24 February this year, demanded the cancellation of planned fleet operations involving sorties by ships which come under the jurisdiction of the Black Sea Fleet commander, and insists that all questions relating to the utilization of the Black Sea Fleet's forces and resources, changes in organizational and manning structure, and changes in the basing and subordination of ships, vessels, and units be coordinated with the Ukrainian Defense Ministry without fail.

On 6 March this year the Ukrainian defense minister declared all the ships of the Black Sea Fleet's auxiliary fleet to be Ukrainian property, and demands daily reports from the commander and warns him in threatening terms about the adoption of some kind of "decision" about him.

All these actions are evidence of outright tyranny over the Black Sea Fleet and its commander, who was appointed not by the Ukrainian defense minister, but by the president of the Russian Federation and the president of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Defense Ministry's complaints about Black Sea Fleet personnel being paid their salaries "at Russian rates and taking into account the karbovanets-ruble exchange rate" are totally incomprehensible. It is astonishing that measures taken in order to improve the material position of Black Sea Fleet personnel are being assessed negatively by the Ukrainian Defense Ministry.

All these and many other instances have repeatedly been drawn to the attention of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry and its leadership, but our appeals have elicited no positive response.

The real crux of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry's intentions lies in the concluding sentence of its statement, which speaks of the need to examine in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet the question of terminating the Yalta Agreement. That agreement restricts arbitrary unilateral interference in the Black Sea Fleet's affairs, and this clearly does not suit the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, which is doing everything possible to get rid of it.

It is obvious that the clear purpose of raising the question of denouncing the Yalta Agreement lies in the Ukrainian Defense Ministry's desire to give itself a free hand to organize new adventures with regard to the Black Sea Fleet. However, it has clearly lost sight of the fact that Ukraine will then have to deal not only with Russia, but also with the other Commonwealth states, since in that case the Black Sea Fleet should be returned to the CIS Joint Armed forces. It is well known that the question of the Black Sea Fleet's fate is by no means a matter of indifference to the other CIS states.

The Russian Defense Ministry lodges a resolute protest to the Ukrainian Defense Ministry in connection with these unlawful actions, and expects the Ukrainian side to take effective measures to revoke all unilateral enactments, stop the unlawful actions of Ukrainian Defense Ministry representatives with regard to the Black Sea Fleet, and call to account those officials who have violated accords on the Black Sea Fleet that were reached at the highest level. As for the Russian Defense Ministry, it has always sought and will continue to seek the strict observance of all jointly formulated legal provisions relating to the Black Sea Fleet, as well as cooperation with the Ukrainian side on the basis of the agreements signed in order to normalize the situation in and around the Black Sea Fleet.

Karadzic Cancels Moscow Trip; Ties Reviewed

MK0904095693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Apr 93 p 4

[Dmitriy Gornostayev report under the "Details" rubric: "Karadzic Opted Against Visiting Russia, Although He Planned To Do So"]

[Text] Earlier this week, world news agencies carried a report that was if not sensational, then at least worthy of close attention: Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic is planning to visit Moscow at the invitation of some Russian deputies. On Wednesday [7 April], those reports were refuted, and Radovan Karadzic said that he would cancel the trip. The Serb leader, according to the Russian Supreme Soviet, has not received any official invitation from either parliamentary leaders or from the Supreme Soviet committee for international affairs and foreign economic relations. To all appearances, it was an initiative by one of the deputies or a group of deputies. The Supreme Soviet does not know so far who it was who invited Karadzic to Moscow. This subject is apparently of no interest to the Russian parliament or they simply want to downplay the incident. Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, called the abortive visit "something over and done with" and said that the problem was off the agenda owing to the very fact that Karadzic would not be coming to Russia after all. The roots of this problem, however, may prove to go much deeper than what the simple question of whether the Bosnian Serb leader is coming to Moscow or not implies. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has already reported the semi-official contacts between Serb authorities and the Russian opposition in the form of frequent trips by Russian deputies to the republics of the former Yugoslavia, which neither Moscow nor Belgrade are eager to highlight (see NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA of 2 April 1993). It is quite likely that Karadzic's canceled visit to Moscow could have marked the continuation of these contacts, this time with the Bosnian Serbs involved. This is confirmed by the fact that the Supreme Soviet has not sent an official invitation to Karadzic to visit Russia, and the visit may have been canceled once it came to the attention of the news agencies. In addition, our parliament includes, as do all parliaments, extremist forces alongside the centrist ones. Evidently, there are deputies there who believe that Russia should pursue a policy aimed at giving a more decisive backing to Serbia, the Bosnian Serbs, and Karadzic in particular. It is with them that the initiative to invite him to Moscow seems to have originated. But the reason could have been much more down-to-earth. The Bosnian Serb leader started packing as soon as he got the word from his own sources of an opportunity to visit Russia. But he canceled his trip as no official invitation was forthcoming.

Aside from hidden ties between Russia and the former Yugoslavia, there are official ones. Staying currently in Belgrade is the Russian president's special envoy, Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin. On Wednesday, he held a meeting with President Slobodan

Milosevic of Serbia, which focused on Russia's further participation in the settlement of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also had contacts with Karadzic.

For this very purpose a delegation of Russian parliamentarians under Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, is leaving for the republics of the former Yugoslavia. The delegation includes deputies hewing to various political lines, such as democrats Sheynis and Rumyantsev, and opposition members Pavlov and Glotov. According to Ambartsumov, the deputies plan to meet with the republics' presidents and leaders, representatives of influential opposition parties, and chiefs of the UN peacekeeping forces, and particularly wish to meet with Philippe Morillon, commander of the UN forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The official program will begin with a visit to Zagreb; the deputies then plan to visit the Russian battalion within the UN forces, after which the mission will arrive in Bileca, headquarters of the Bosnian Serbs, and set out later for Belgrade. Trips to Montenegro and Kosovo, Yugoslavia's former autonomous territory with a predominantly Albanian population, have also been planned.

Churkin, Albania's Starova View Relations, Regional Issues

AU0904063893 Tirana ATA in English 1007 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 8 (ATA)—A delegation of the Albanian Foreign Ministry led by the Deputy Minister Arjan Starova is on an official visit in Moscow. On April 6, the Deputy Minister Starova met with the foreign deputy minister of the Russian Federation, Vitaliy Churkin. They exchanged opinions on the situation in the region, the crisis in former Yugoslavia, the question of Kosovo and the Albanians living in their territories in former Yugoslavia. They also talked on the ways and possibilities for the development of relations on the bilateral and multilateral planes.

The Albanian delegation has also had separate meetings with the directors of the Department of International Organizations and the Consular Service in the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Russia.

Churkin Goes to Belgrade

LD0804165393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1315 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Apr—In the present conditions of the continuing intensified negotiating process, it was necessary to abstain from hasty actions and decisions that could produce a reverse effect and lead to the escalation of the Bosnian conflict, Vitaliy Churkin, Russian deputy foreign minister and special envoy of the Russian president, said at a meeting with Russian journalists today.

In this connection, he stressed, I was very concerned by the intention of the UN Security Council to vote on a resolution on introducing new sanctions against Yugoslavia as early as 12 April. It would be an untimely and harmful move.

In Belgrade, Vitaliy Churkin held meetings with FRY President Dobrica Cosic, Serbian President Milosevic, and also with Radovan Karadzic, leader of Bosnian Serbs, on problems connected with the settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina on the basis of the Vance-Owen plan. The results of these meetings convinced me that it was necessary to continue intensive consultations with all the parties involved in the conflict overcoming a confrontational approach toward one of them, Churkin said.

According to the Russian diplomat, the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs is sincerely interested in maintaining the cease-fire and continuing UN humanitarian operations. The leadership of Yugoslavia and Serbia, too, would like to see the conflict settled as soon as possible. However, it is the leadership of Bosnian Serbs that has to make concrete decisions on all the components of the Vance-Owen plan. For them these decisions are extremely difficult since a number of provisions in the plan strongly affects their vital interests.

Meanwhile, the Russian diplomat stressed, we are not trying to overstep the general framework of settlement set up by the plan of the cochairmen of the negotiating process. We intend to act within this framework and in close contact with the cochairmen in the future. Although I do not rule out the possibility of some unusual solutions appearing in the future, we are not talking about the Russian side trying to reject the cochairmen's plan and starting its own, absolutely independent play, Churkin said. This would be hardly promising. Our tactics and policy, therefore, consist of the search for a possibility of overcoming a course of confrontation while remaining within this general framework and in close contact with all other parties, for such a course could have pernicious consequences that would not be long in coming. Other countries, too, have begun to understand this better, something that makes it possible to expect a breakthrough in the course of events while staying within the framework of political efforts.

V. Churkin said he was flying off to Washington today to meet with top officials from the U.S. Administration. Also, he might meet cochairmen Vance and Owen in New York. After that, he intends to hold talks in some European capitals, specifically in Paris, in order to boost political efforts in settling the Bosnian conflict.

Churkin Holds Talks

LD0904103593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0958 GMT 9 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade April 9 TASS—"In light of the current situation and stepped up negotiations it is necessary to avoid hasty steps and decisions that are apt to produce a reverse effect and merely escalate the Bosnian conflict," Russian president's special envoy and Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin told Russian journalists here on Thursday [8 April].

"In this connection," he stressed, "I am very much concerned about the planned voting in the U.N. Security Council of a resolution to impose new sanctions on Yugoslavia, scheduled for April 12. This would be an untimely and harmful step."

Churkin had meetings in Belgrade with President of the united republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and leader of the Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic. They discussed problems linked with the settlement of the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the basis of the Vance-Owen plan.

"The results of these meetings," Churkin noted, "have convinced me that it is necessary to continue intensive consultations with all the sides involved in the conflict and to renounce the present confrontational approach to one of them."

According to the Russian diplomat, the Bosnian Serb leadership was sincerely interested in observing the armistice and continuing U.N. humanitarian operations. The leadership of Yugoslavia and Serbia is also eager to achieve an early settlement of the conflict. However, concrete decisions on all the elements of the Vance-Owen plan must be taken by the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs and these decisions are very difficult for them, because several provisions of the plan affect their vital interests.

"As a matter of fact," Churkin stressed, "we are not trying to transcend the overall frameworks of the settlement, stipulated by the plan authored by the two co-chairmen of the negotiations process. We intend to go on acting within these bounds and in close contact with the two co-chairmen. Although I do not rule out some new extraordinary in the future, I must say that the Russian side will not try to reject the Vance-Owen plan and to conduct its own independent policy. [sentence as received] This does not hold out much promise. This is why our tactic and our policy is to find ways to overcome the confrontational tendency, while acting within the common frameworks and in close contact with all the other sides. A confrontational course may lead to consequences, which could be quick in coming. This is being increasingly understood in other countries, too, which gives ground for hopes that a turn in the current events will be achieved and political efforts will be continued within the present frameworks."

Miyazawa's Comments on Yeltsin Visit Reported

LD0904085293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
0828 GMT 9 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo April 9 TASS—Prime Minister of Japan Kiichi Miyazawa said today that he "considers it necessary to discuss in full" the visit suspended from last autumn visit to Japan by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and other problems of bilateral relations with the head of the Russian Foreign Ministry Andrey Kozyrev.

Kozyrev is supposed to take part in the forthcoming April 14-15 "G-7" foreign and finance minister conference on problems of providing aid to Russia, and also, as expected, meet officials of the Japanese Government.

Miyazawa's statement, made at a session of the cabinet of ministers, once again confirms the Japanese Government's stand that Boris Yeltsin's participation in the proposed July G-7 summit in Tokyo can in no way substitute a full-level visit to Japan by the Russian president.

Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister on Kurils, Aid

MK0904112493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Apr 93 p 4

[Interview with Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito by Vasily Golovnin under "Diplomacy" rubric; in Tokyo; date not given: "Tokyo Does Not Reject G-7 Emergency Meeting or Intend To Link Aid for Moscow Rigidly with South Kurils Problem"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Certain changes have been occurring in recent weeks in Tokyo's traditionally tough policy toward Russia. These changes are clearly connected with the political convulsions shaking Moscow. The traditional demands for the return of the "northern territories" have been noticeably toned down, and one is struck by the markedly constructive nature of the statements and by the clearly expressed support for President Yeltsin's administration, which is besieged by an internal foe. Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito is a professional diplomat who really makes his country's policy regarding Russia. It was he who was virtually in charge of the preparations for President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Tokyo, which fell through spectacularly in September, and it was he who went on an "emergency" mission to Moscow in December in order to heal to some extent the wounds inflicted by the cancellation of that visit. Saito invariably heads Japanese delegations at working meetings of the two countries' Foreign Ministries, and he is extremely well informed and always diplomatically restrained. The emphases which he placed in his interview for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA are all the more interesting, pointing, for example, to the fact that Tokyo does not now always seek to demand concessions from Moscow on the South Kurils in exchange for economic cooperation.

[Golovnin] Mr. Saito, what do you see as the main priorities for Japan's policy toward Russia at the present critical time for Yeltsin?

[Saito] For us it is very important to give all the assistance we can to those steps that are being taken in Russia to implement reforms. President Yeltsin and his supporters are making a big effort to establish democracy and a market economy, and we would like to support them. As chairman of the upcoming G-7 meeting this year, Japan is now intensively coordinating steps to seek the most effective measures of economic and political assistance for Russia.

[Golovnin] Mr. Saito, how will Tokyo now square its policy of aiding Moscow with the long-standing dispute with it over the South Kurils?

[Saito] Of course, our aim is to conclude a peace treaty with Russia after resolving the problem of the northern territories. It is not, however, a question of freezing economic cooperation with your country if no progress is made in the political sphere of our relations. We believe that progress in one sphere will have a beneficial effect on the other, where there have so far been no great successes. In principle, we advocate making balanced progress both in the economic sphere and in the direction of concluding a peace treaty.

I do not mean, however, that we separate politics from economics in our relations with Russia. Unless we resolve the territorial question, conclude a peace treaty, and create prospects for settling these problems, our economic cooperation will hardly develop entirely without hindrances. At the present stage, however, it seems to me that the unresolved nature of the territorial question does not prevent our aid for Russia.

[Golovnin] But, Mr. Saito, in the process of preparing for the G-7 Tokyo conference France and the FRG have leveled quite unprecedented criticism at Japan, accusing it of extremely passive involvement in the West's common efforts to support democracy in Russia.

[Saito] I regret this, and I believe that such statements are founded on a misunderstanding of the situation. If you assess our commitments to aid Russia, they are at the level of Britain's and France's, or even exceed their efforts. Of course, there are spheres where it takes time to give the promised aid. But the main reason for this, in our opinion, is that government and other organs in Russia are in chaos, and the talks are proceeding badly.

The question of what to devote special attention to when giving assistance to your country will be worked out at the conference of G-7 foreign and finance ministers specially devoted to Russia, which is to be held in Tokyo on 14 and 15 April. It is too soon to speak of its decisions, but there might be discussion of revising debt repayment times, of technological assistance for your power industry, and of cooperation in dismantling nuclear weapons.

[Golovnin] Mr. Deputy Minister, is President Mitterrand's idea of holding an emergency summit-level G-7 meeting on aid to Russia not yet dead?

[Saito] No, it is alive. On the whole Japan is not against the holding of an additional emergency summit-level G-7 meeting on Russia; we are open to any solution to this question. This question will possibly be raised at the ministers' 14-15 April conference in Tokyo that I mentioned. We believe, however, that this emergency conference should not be held right now, immediately. When might it take place? Maybe in May or June, if the appropriate decision is made.

[Golovnin] Mr. Saito, since last year relations between Russia and Japan have practically been at a standstill. Can we count on some sort of progress in them before the G-7 Tokyo meeting in July?

[Saito] I think that is possible. I believe that in Russia there are similarly strong sentiments favoring an improvement in relations with Japan.

Japanese Shift on Aid Issue Pondered

PM0804135793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in
Russian 8 Apr 93 p 3

[Article by Aleksandr Golts: "Even If Tokyo Says 'Yes'..."]

[Text] In international affairs you can get a situation where an obvious mistake can unexpectedly turn to your advantage. On this occasion it happened after a record of table talk between the Russian and U.S. presidents, written in Russian and left behind in a restaurant, became public knowledge. According to the record, Clinton warned Yeltsin that the Japanese should not be taken literally. When they say "yes," he said, it could mean "no."

There followed a miniscandal between the United States and Japan. U.S. diplomats assured their Japanese colleagues that, in the first place, it was a joke, that, in the second place, it had been taken out of context, and that, third, the U.S. president was trying to convince Yeltsin that Japan is prepared to help Russia. Tokyo was apparently satisfied with the explanation, and the scandal abated.

But I think its main result is the fact that Tokyo officials are seeking to demonstrate their readiness to join other states in the West in assisting Russia in its economic reforms. I would point out that this is particularly important since a conference of the finance and foreign ministers of the seven leading industrial countries and Russia is to be held in the Japanese capital on 14-15 April. The conference will be entirely devoted to assistance for our country. And Japan, as Kabun Muto, who has just taken up the post of head of the diplomatic department, said, will do all it can to make the meeting a success. According to him, Tokyo is considering the option of giving Russia aid, "with the accent on its eastern part." Other G7 countries, the head of the Japanese Foreign Ministry believes, could then take responsibility for assisting the European part of Russia. Japan is also studying the possibility of introducing a

system of preferential customs tariffs for Russian exports, which would help activate its foreign trade activity and the economic reforms as a whole. It is reported in the press that the Japanese share of the package of measures which will be discussed by the G7 will be over \$2 billion.

But what about the problem of the South Kurils? Tokyo put its diffidence over assistance for Russia down to the existence of this territorial dispute. On the one hand, the impression is that Japan does not want to harp on the topic at the moment. For rather a long time Japan's partners have been urging it to stop trying to resolve everything swiftly.

When German Chancellor Kohl was in the Japanese capital at the end of February he publicly called on the Japanese prime minister to consider the consequences of the failure of the process of Russian reforms, THE WASHINGTON POST writes today. As a country with a small defense force and a country that is entirely dependent on imports of fuel and raw materials, Japan has a most direct interest in the political and economic regime that is going to be established in Siberia. The Japanese, like everyone else, appreciate the danger of the situation that has developed concerning the Russian reforms. Now is the time, the paper believes, when claims to the four islands must be temporarily put aside, and Japan's enormous energy and its financial might must be channeled into the international mission which is taking shape at this moment to assist the reforms in Russia.

Obviously these calls were taken into account when the Japanese position was established. But, on the other hand, Muto also stressed at the press conference that Tokyo does not intend to suspend the territorial issue. It was also said that the issue will be discussed both during a possible meeting with Russian Foreign Ministry chief Andrey Kozyrev and during the G-7 meeting. So we will very soon be able to learn what it actually means when Japan says "yes."

No Time Stated in Draft Treaty on Pullout From Estonia

MK0804111493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 8 Apr 93 p 9

[Sergey Tsekhmistrenko and Valeriya Sycheva report under "Results of Russian-Estonian Talks" rubric: "Draft Treaty on Russian Troop Withdrawal Agreed"]

[Text] The 10th round of talks between Russian and Estonian state delegations (see KOMMERSANT 7 April) ended yesterday in the settlement of Chkalovskiy near Moscow. It was an anniversary round, exactly one year after the start of the bilateral talks process. Observers point out, however, that agreement was not reached on the main disputed issues.

At the final news conference Juri Lujk, head of the Estonian delegation, described the talks as "mainly positive," while Vasily Svirin, his Russian colleague, called the talks process "constructive, but difficult." In the opinion of both sides' representatives, the main achievement of the talks was the very fact that they took place. Mr. Lujk pointed out that the Estonian side had cast doubt on the expediency of continuing the talks process after Boris Yeltsin's statement in Vancouver and Pavel Grachev's in Brussels, in which the question of the Russian troop withdrawal from the Baltic countries' territory was once again linked with the position of the Russian-speaking population in those states.

The human rights issue was discussed at the talks, but observers point out that a compromise was not reached this time either—because of the sides' diametrically opposite starting positions. Thus, the Estonians, relying on the data of numerous Western inspections and commissions which have visited the republic in recent years, are convinced that the rights of the Russian-speaking minority are not being flouted in any way. In Mr. Lujk's opinion, it is possible to speak only of "social problems which exist in any country." But Mr. Svirin categorically disagreed with that interpretation of the problem, citing the resolution of the 47th UN General Assembly Session (1992), which voiced concern at the position of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia and Latvia.

Despite the disagreements that exist, Russia, according to Mr. Svirin, "will fulfill its obligations to withdraw troops from Estonia." The delegation heads pointed out that a draft of the basic treaty on the troop withdrawal was agreed. It does not stipulate specific times, but, in the Russian side's opinion, the withdrawal will not be completed in 1993, although Tallinn is insisting on this. This treaty, as well as a number of economic agreements, could be signed during the next round, which will be held in Estonia on 6 and 7 May. KOMMERSANT will return to this topic 6 May.

'General Agreement' Reached

OW0904103193 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1019 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A few days ago, the delegations at the Russian-Estonian talks reached the general agreement on the future of the deposits of Estonian organizations and citizens, frozen by the former Vneshekonombank. Leader of the Russian delegation Vasily Svirin informed BALTFAX that the repayment of this debt will begin on July 1, 1993.

To quote Svirin, the talks on military issues were difficult, tense and lengthy. No agreement was reached on the three cardinal questions: The schedule of the Russian troops' withdrawal, the military property and the compensation for the ecological damage. Svirin also said that although none of the parties proposed the so-called zero option (the transfer of the Russian military property to

Estonia as a compensation for the ecological damage), such an option is quite possible.

Speaking about the Center for Training Personnel for Nuclear Submarines in Paldiski, Svirin said that Estonia was well aware that this center could not be eliminated by the end of 1994 for objective reasons, so a later date - 1998 or 1999 - is being discussed now.

Lebed Says 'Too Early' To Withdraw From Moldova

*OW0804145393 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1426 GMT 8 Apr 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] It is still too early to discuss withdrawing Russian troops from Moldova. Soldiers should remain there until the social and political situation is fully stabilized and normal conditions are established for the units' withdrawal and their relocation in a new place. Lieutenant-General Aleksandr Lebed, the commander of the 14th Army, announced this to journalists Wednesday [7 April] on his arrival in Chisinau to participate the next round of Moldovan- Russian negotiations on Russian troops.

The general stressed that the army would be removed, but the problem, he said, "is the fact that so far there's nowhere to go." At present, Lebed said, the soldiers were conducting military preparations, building housing for officers, and trying not to interfere in politics.

Lebed spoke clearly in favor of a peaceful settlement in Dniester, stressing that he was hoping for "national diplomacy, which will break down the wall of mistrust between residents of the two banks of the Dniester." Said the general, "War is a dead end. We have to remember that all wars end in peace. Therefore they are absurd."

Grachev Remarks at Abu Dhabi Arms Fair Cited

*LD0804133293 Moscow Ostankino Television First
Channel Network in Russian 1740 GMT 7 Apr 93*

[Remarks by Army General Pavel Grachev at the Abu Dhabi international arms exhibition; date not given; from the "After the Storm" program—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Grachev] Our old way of thinking—don't do that, don't touch, don't sell—must be effaced from our people. Our people must understand first that we are selling hardware to those countries which are not potential enemies and which do not present any threat to our state. That is the first thing.

Second, the sale of this hardware provides colossal income to the exchequer of our state, although of course this income must be used correctly.

Third, and the most important thing, is that the general designers and directors of defense industry enterprises are present here. You understand that we prevent the

fluctuation of cadres this way, particularly now, when poorly planned conversion has led to the departure of a vast number of highly qualified designers. Where have they gone? To joint ventures; and some have gone abroad. These are highly qualified workers. In general, the workforce is declining, and not just the workforce but the most able of the ordinary workers. That is the most important thing. [passage omitted]

Defense Delegation in UAE

*LD0904085093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in
Russian 1722 GMT 8 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev]

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 8 Apr—The visit to the United Arab Emirates by Viktor Glukhikh, chairman of the Russian Federation Committee for Defense Industries, ended today. He was in the United Arab Emirates [UAE] at the invitation of the Emirates' Government on a six-day working visit at the head of a representative delegation, made up of representatives of the Russian Defense and Foreign Ministries.

The delegation was received by UAE Defense Minister, Shaykh Muhammad Bin-Rashid al Maktum, and Shaykh Hamdan Bin-Zayid Al Nuhayyan, the minister of state for foreign affairs. There was a meeting with Shaykh Muhammad Bin-Zayid Al Nuhayyan, UAE Armed Forces chief of general staff.

During the visit, Viktor Glukhikh told an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Russia's adherence to broadening cooperation with the UAE and other Persian Gulf countries was stressed. Contacts with Kuwait, Bahrain, and Oman are developing. Bilateral understanding is being established. New possible spheres of cooperation, for example in the areas of metallurgy and chemicals, are being discovered. At the same time, "Russia does not intend to be excluded from the circle of suppliers of weapons to the world market."

According to the head of the delegation, the exhibition of defense weaponry in Abu Dhabi in February this year "aroused colossal interest in Russian military equipment." UAE specialists are prepared to work on scientific-research studies in the sphere of weaponry alongside Russian specialists. The UAE desires effective defense weaponry. Russia is ready to help the Emirates in this, Glukhikh noted.

Opposition Deputies Visit Iraq 5 Apr

*PM0804140993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Apr 93 First Edition p 3*

[Georgiy Stepanov report: "Saddam Husayn Has Visitors Again"]

[Text] Three Russian people's deputies led by General Vladislav Achalov, former USSR deputy defense minister, who arrived in Iraq on Monday, did not hide their

extremely negative attitude to the Russian authorities and Moscow's policy during a meeting with journalists.

"The members of the delegation are convinced that the current situation and the associated privations are temporary. Everything will very shortly, God willing, return to normal," REUTER cited one of Baghdad's guests, retired cosmonaut Andriyan Nikolayev. What does he mean. There is every indication that the Russian opposition thinks it possible that there will be a change of Kremlin policy in the near future and the anti-Iraqi international sanctions lifted. The main purpose of the visit is to "express solidarity with the Iraqi people" and "support it during its difficult time of trial." "Russian people and the former Soviet Union have not betrayed Iraq. It is the Russian leadership that has done that," Gen. Achalov said.

This trip to Iraq by a group of Moscow parliamentarians who are not among Boris Yeltsin's supporters is seen as a quite commonplace occurrence. In the last few months such outstanding members of the hard-line opposition as Sazhi Umalatova, Sergey Baburin, and Aleksandr Nevzorov have visited here on "goodwill missions." Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's volunteer fighters also came here to fight U.S. imperialism. They were all accorded a cordial reception and had meetings arranged with Baghdad officials, while the highlight of their schedule was invariably an inspection of the devastation ensuing from January's U.S. bombing and missile raids on the country's military installations.

Iraq will undoubtedly be a place of pilgrimage for a long time to come for certain Russian politicians. At least as long as Saddam Husayn remains in power there.

Further on Visit

MK0804131293 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 8 Apr 93 p 9

[Svetlana Sukhova, Nataliya Kalashnikova report: "Russian Parliamentarians in Iraq. Parliament Prepares New Offensive on Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] Reverberations of the February parliamentary hearings in Moscow on the economic consequences of sanctions against Iraq, Libya, and Yugoslavia echoed in Baghdad yesterday. Members of the Russian parliamentary delegation led by retired General Vladislav Achalov, currently in the Iraqi capital, personally told Iraqi leaders about their disagreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' position on Iraq.

While people in the Russian parliament's press service declined to comment on the objective and the fact of the visit by the three-member delegation, and on how the trip had been financed, Achalov made no secret of the mission's objective. In Iraq, the delegates had already managed to "study the consequences of the bombings" that Achalov described as "not war, but genocide." During yesterday's meeting with Iraqi parliament Speaker Sa'di Mahdi Salih and Minister of Foreign

Affairs Tariq 'Aziz—Andrey Kozyrev's counterpart—Pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR Andrian Nikolayev noted that he "believes that world public opinion will soon soften toward Iraq." Vladislav Achalov stated that the "Russian people and peoples of the former USSR will not betray Iraq as Russia's leadership did." The general also let his Iraqi comrades know that a group of parliamentarians was preparing an interpellation to parliament on revising the present stance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As for arguments on this score, the parliamentarians have already elaborated them. In particular, during the February hearings data on Russia's direct losses from its part in the sanctions were cited—nearly 2.5 billion rubles; and yet loans, promised in exchange, from a number of Arab countries worth \$2 billion have not yet arrived. Iraq was Russia's priority trading partner. In particular, it supplied oil that Russia re-exported, mainly to India. The export of technical aid to Baghdad worth \$49.74 million and planned for 1993 is now prevented by the UN sanctions. According to Russia's Main Intelligence Directorate, a number of Western firms have signed contracts with Iraq, and when the sanctions are lifted, Russian businessmen will find themselves out of business. Employing these arguments, and disdaining a possible worsening of relations with the West, the Russian parliament will apparently launch another offensive against the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the context of which offensive "tactical operations" are currently being rehearsed in Baghdad.

Czech Minister Arrives for Three-Day Visit

LD0704154293 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 7 Apr 93

[Text] Czech Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy arrived in Moscow today for a three-day working visit. During his stay in the Russian capital it is expected that a Czech-Russian agreement on trade, economic, and scientific and technical cooperation and a protocol on mutual trade for this year will be initialled. His agenda includes, among other things, talks with Boris Fedorov, Russian vice premier and finance minister, and with ministers of fuel and energy, foreign trade, and industry. In connection with the preparation of the visit, Czech Prime Minister Klaus recently expressed scepticism about our claims in Russia and noted that it would be necessary to do what we had tried not to do for a long time, that is to transfer them to the so-called Paris Club associating Russia's creditors.

Agreement Reached on Gas Deliveries

LD0804193293 Prague CTK in English 1315 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow April 8 (CTK)—Representatives of Gazprom, Russia's largest gasworks, have guaranteed long-term deliveries of gas to the Czech Republic, Czech Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy told CTK here today.

Dlouhy said the main goal of his current visit to the Russian Federation is to get imports guarantees for strategic raw materials (oil and gas) to the Czech Republic and to create space for Czech exports. He rejected speculations that he wanted to extort Czech claims from Russia. Priorities are currently changing.... in the first place we are going to discuss possibilities for promoting trade, he said.

He said the Gazprom representatives praised the agreement between the Czech and Slovak Republics on the transit gas pipeline by which gas from Russia and other ex-Soviet republics is transported to Western European countries via Slovakia and the Czech Republic and Dlouhy's assurances that the Czech Republic wants to be a reliable partner of Gazprom in transporting gas to Western Europe.

Dlouhy informed the Russian partners of the start of restructuring and privatisation of the Czech gas industry and of Prague's intention to negotiate with Gazprom as a potential privatisation partner.

The Gazprom representatives expressed interest in deliveries of Czech-made Tatra cars, pumps and consumer goods for selected regions where gas is extracted. The Czech Republic is ready to provide these supplies, Dlouhy said.

A possibility of setting up a joint trade house which would organise payments for Russian gas deliveries by supplies of Czech consumer goods to Russia was discussed by experts from the two countries.

Dlouhy also held talks today with executive Russian Economics Minister Andrey Shapovaliants and assured him that the Czech Republic considers Russia to be a very important trade partner.

Dlouhy said the issue of payments in Czech-Russian trade has not yet been closed.

We are doing our utmost to create the conditions for our exports, but on the other hand, we demand an unambiguous guarantee of payments, Dlouhy stressed.

Trade, Other Agreements Initialed

LD0904124493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1144 GMT 9 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—"Russia's overall debt to former Czechoslovakia tops five billion U.S. dollars. Two-thirds of this debt is to be repayed to the Czech Republic," Czech Minister for Industry and Commerce Vladimir Dlouhy, currently on a working visit in Russia, told a press conference here today.

"At the same time," the minister noted, "the problem of repayment is not among the main priorities of our relations with Moscow. The Czech Government's main

task is to promote commercial and economic relations with Russia, to ensure its own economy with energy resources."

During the talks, which Dlouhy conducted with members of the Russian cabinet, it was decided to set up an intergovernmental commission. It is to study, among other things, the possibility of using national currencies in mutual settlements.

The Czech minister's visit was rounded off by the initialling of an agreement on commercial-economic and scientific-technical cooperation, as well as of a protocol on trade in 1993 and a protocol between the Ministries for Foreign Economic Relations of the two countries.

Dlouhy is leaving Moscow for home in the afternoon.

Chinese Naval Commander Visits Northern Fleet

LD0904041993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] Vice Admiral Zhang Lianzhong, naval commander of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, today visited the Northern Fleet. The Chinese naval chief had a meeting in Severomorsk with Admiral Oleg Yerofeyev, the Northern Fleet's commander. They discussed cooperation between the two countries' sailors.

Today Vice Admiral Zhang Lianzhong will fly to St. Petersburg where he will have a meeting with the Baltic Fleet Command and visit [word indistinct] installations.

Cooperation With China in Amur River Area Viewed

OW0804215993 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 5 Apr 93

[From the "Talk of the Day" program]

[Text] Normally, a country's border only draws people's attention when dark clouds gather, when shots of guns and salvos are heard, or when people are detained for causing great harm to the economy. However, the entire border between Russia and China, including the area around Blagoveshchensk, is free of the aforementioned incidents. Then, what drew our station reporter (Galibov) to make a news-gathering trip there? Let us hear his report:

[Begin recording] [(Galibov)] Changes that have been taking place there—changes in the livelihood of the local residents and border guards—motivated this reporter to make the trip. These noticeable changes are inseparable from the normalization of relations between Russia and China. In the past, villages along the border river Amur were rather like military [word indistinct]. A special pass was required for passage there. Many military facilities were set up around farms. As a matter of fact, civilians were barred from the Amur special zone. All this was changed a few years ago. Passes were abolished; roads

have been built for fishing, swimming, and other activities in the river; crops planted by farmers are now growing in formerly forbidden zones; and many military facilities have been gradually switched to civilian use. Today, only the watch towers on the erstwhile border sentry posts serve as a reminder to people that this used to be a heavily guarded border defense area only a few years ago. These sentry posts, which could normally be found on a village's outskirts, are in no way hampering today's vigorous development.

A border is, after all, a border. It has its own rules of (?self-defense), and it also changes along with the changes in the political climate. These are the things we discussed in an interview I had with the leader of a border sentry post 60 km from Blagoveshchensk. He is Colonel [Felipov]:

[(Felipov), in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] We have also changed our (?tactics). Our mission is not defending the border but to monitor it. [Words indistinct] engage in production activities—navigation, river fishing, and heading off conflicts between Russian and Chinese fishermen, for example. Small-scale smuggling is the most frequently seen acts that disrupt the border area.

Most of the smugglers resell their stuff at the other side for a profit. The scale of their operations is small. Small infractions are, however, only a short distance away from major crimes. If we do not check them, smuggling will run rampant in a few years. Criminals will take advantage of the democratization of the border system. We know this, as do our Chinese colleagues and border guards. This unified understanding of the common tasks has been reflected in the concrete actions taken by Russian and Chinese border guards. They patrol the border together and constantly improve communications. They recently have had another common concern: helping install (?boundary markers) on the Amur River. Cooperation between border defense personnel of the two countries is conducive, to a great extent, to the fast growing border trade and exchanges. Border defense personnel will also take part in delimiting the boundary. This will be the first time in centuries that the two nations will have clearly delimited a boundary in that area. What good will come of this? First, it will help prevent misunderstanding caused by border violations; second, it will help simplify [words indistinct] and make it easier to jointly develop natural resources in the Amur area. The border system will be further improved and all this will help facilitate the development of Russian-Chinese relations. [end recording]

Political Issues

Rutskoy's Press Office Clarifies Remarks on Economy, Summit

LD0804130193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1210 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, 8 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian Federation vice president's press service issued the following statement here today:

"Commenting on the speech delivered on 6 April by Russian Federation Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy at the meeting of the 'roundtable' on economic problems and his interview with journalists during a break in that meeting, certain elements of the Russian and foreign mass media claimed that 'the vice president called for state control of the economy to be restored immediately' and that he 'reacted negatively to the results of the Russian-American summit in Vancouver,' at which 'Russia had gone begging,' or so it was alleged.

In this connection the vice president's press service wishes to point out that these comments distort the actual meaning of what was said. Addressing the 'roundtable' participants, Aleksandr Rutskoy spoke of the need to bring the current process of economic reform under control. This is a long way from calling for the restoration of the command economy.

As far as his evaluation of the results of the Vancouver summit is concerned, the vice president unequivocally welcomes the U.S. commitment, as expressed in the joint declaration, to a 'dynamic and effective Russian-American partnership,' a point which he spelled out unambiguously during his meeting yesterday with a delegation from the U.S. Congress. At the same time Aleksandr Rutskoy stressed that Russia's present economic situation does not match up to its resources or technological and scientific-technical potential. It is in precisely this light that one should interpret the vice president's remark to journalists after the 'roundtable' that 'it is unfitting for Russia to go begging.'"

Rutskoy Comments

OW0804145593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1427 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy told INTERFAX on Thursday [8 April] that he did not stand for the restoration of an administer-and-command economic system in the country. What, in his opinion, was necessary was bringing the economic reforms under control and creating a mechanism for regulating economic processes, namely a correct monetary credit policy.

While the finance system remained in its present state no reforms would work, he said, and there would be a sway towards profiteering instead. That was something no

civilized country would tolerate, whereas in Russia this was called the "initial stage of capital accumulation," he said.

Regarding the April 25 referendum, Rutskoy said he still believed this was "absolutely necessary," since it would show the population's opinion on developments in the country.

Justice Ministry Checking Legality of Communist Structures

LD0804164193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1427 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By CRIM-PRESS-TASS correspondent Nikolay Semenko]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—The formation of organisational structures of the Communist Party on production principles contradicts the provisions of the decree of the president of the Russian Federation of July 20 1991 "on the cessation of the activities of organisational structures of political parties and mass social movements in state bodies, institutions and organisations of the Russian Federation," according to a statement by the press service of the Russian Ministry of Justice released here today.

As is known, this decree prohibits the setting up and running of primary organisations and other structures of political parties in institutions, organisations and enterprises located on the Russian territory irrespective of their subordination.

The ministry has commissioned judicial bodies in the provinces to check up facts on the creation of organisational structures on production principles by the Russian Communist Party. If the violations of the decree are discovered, measures envisaged by the law will be taken including the cessation of the activities of the party by a court ruling on a proposal by the general prosecutor's office or the Ministry of Justice.

Communists in some work collectives, not formally setting up primary organisations and cells, are actually carrying out joint organisational activities which also run counter to the presidential decree. Neither does the setting up of organisational structures on production principles correspond to the rules of the Communist Party registered with the Ministry of Justice, the statement of the press service of the Russian Ministry of Justice stresses.

Further on Council of Ministers Presidium Session

More on Business Promotion Measures

LD0804174093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1015 GMT 7 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Apr—The Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation has approved in entirety a set of top-priority measures aimed at developing small- and medium-sized businesses. The package of measures comprising about 30 items is designed to create conditions for developing small-scale entrepreneurship as one of the most important strategic areas in the implementation of economic reforms in the country.

The main priorities in the development of small- and medium-sized businesses have been considered to be: the production and processing of farming produce and manufactured and consumer goods; and, the provision of industrial, municipal, and consumer services, as well as housing and industrial construction. Such enterprises will be given state support with finance and credit, scientific and technical development, material and technical supplies, marketing of products, foreign economic activities, and training staff.

Small- and medium-sized businesses are in an unequal position compared with large enterprises, acting Minister of Economics Andrey Shapovalyants noted. Hence, proposals to provide them with legal norms, in particular, to introduce a simplified procedure for the registration of enterprises and citizens engaged in entrepreneurial activity without the formation of a juridical person, are included in the preparation of the bill, "State Support for Small Enterprises in the Russian Federation."

Changes in tax legislation are being proposed: exempting from tax the funds of small enterprises intended for the development of their own production, reducing tax rates on profit in the third and fourth year of operation after registration, and reimbursing the value-added tax being paid by small enterprises to equipment suppliers.

Proposals should be prepared to channel part of the funds obtained from the privatization of state property into supporting small- and medium-sized businesses and creating new jobs.

The interests of small enterprises will be taken into account in distributing federal (?import) contracts on goods the state needs. A draft government decision to exempt from import duties small- and medium-sized enterprises that operate in high-priority areas is being prepared.

It has been proposed to set up a special body for coordinating the work of the government with small- and medium-scale entrepreneurship. The idea has been to use vouchers to form a capital fund of small- and medium-sized enterprises.

Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin reported that the government has begun shaping a mechanism for providing incentives for small- and medium-sized businesses.

Minister Cited on Pollution

LD0804173793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 7 Apr 93

[Video report by D. Pugacheva; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] Journalists were not admitted to the Russian Government session today; the only thing they were allowed to do was to list the top officials present, even though the themes of the conference—support for small- and medium-scale businesses and issues relating to environmental protection—are of interest to many residents of Russia. [passage omitted]

Also today, the government ratified the international convention on the protection and use of running water sources and lakes located in more than one country. Luckily for poor Russia—or, perhaps, unluckily—this convention does not envisage any sanctions for polluting water sources.

[Begin recording of Viktor Danilov-Danilyan, minister of the environment and natural resources] If you compare the sum total of cross-border pollution, Russia is the suffering side, not the one that causes suffering. At the moment, we are getting worse pollution from Kazakhstan and from Ukraine than we pollute them. [end recording]

Tax Breaks for Businesses Viewed

MK0904082293 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 8 Apr 93 p 9

[Viktor Ivanov report: "Government Considers Benefits To Be Granted to Small Businesses"]

[Text] Support for small- and medium-sized businesses came to the focus of the Russian Government's attention, which is entirely natural given the executive branch's desire to win the support of the business community on the eve of the referendum. Importantly, yesterday's meeting of the Council of Ministers' Presidium approved in general a whole set of benefits, including tax breaks, to be granted to small businesses in the next few months. This proves that the government, as a practical matter, now tends to view small and medium-sized proprietors as its main social support base.

The meeting discussed two sets of questions. Acting Economics Minister Andrey Shapovalyants delivered a report on benefits to be granted to small businesses and Environmental Protection Minister Viktor Danilov-Danilyants spoke about the promotion of environmental measures.

One important reason for the government's taking so active an interest in small- and medium-sized businesses precisely at this juncture is the current political situation—in the confrontation with the parliament and the upcoming referendum, the executive branch is clearly

striving to win the entrepreneurs' support. Following the decree setting up a federal fund for the support of enterprise and the promotion of competition (KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported it this week), the government decided to consider an even more important document—the draft decree “On a set of priority measures to develop small and medium-sized businesses in the Russian Federation.” The draft includes a list of priority sectors where the state intends to encourage small and medium-sized businesses, such as agricultural production and processing of agricultural produce, manufacturing of industrial and consumer goods, services and construction sectors. Among other things, with respect to funds accumulated by small enterprises (in these sectors) in specialized investment accounts for the purpose of boosting their production, it is planned to grant tax-exempt status; it is also proposed to reduce the profit taxes paid by these enterprises if they create additional jobs, and also to exempt them from import duties. The Council of Ministers Presidium approved this decree in general, but said that it needed one more month to be finalized—mainly because it was decided right in the midst of the meeting that it would be the Economy Ministry that will coordinate efforts to promote small businesses. In addition, Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin opposed the idea of exempting small businesses from import duties, and said that exempting specific goods from such duties may make sense, but not exempting enterprises. Those attending the meeting resolved that the draft law “On Amendments and Additions to the Taxation Laws of the Russian Federation,” the key bill in the “environmental package,” should be finalized also within one month. The bill provides for exempting capital investment in environmental projects from profit taxes and additionally for exempting the extrabudget environmental funds from value-added tax [VAT]. The Finance Ministry deemed these breaks excessive, however, and this delayed the submission of the document to the parliament as a government-sponsored bill. KOMMERSANT-DAILY will follow up on the subject after the government completes the work on the document discussed at the meeting.

[Article contains the following boxed passage]

What Tax Breaks Are Planned To Be Granted to Small Businesses

- funds accumulated by small enterprises for production-boosting purposes are to be exempt from taxes;
- profit tax rates are to be reduced in the third and fourth years of businesses' life reckoned from the date of their registration;
- VAT expenses paid by small enterprises to equipment suppliers are to be indemnified;
- profit taxes are to be reduced for a one-year period in exchange for the creation of additional jobs.

Chubays Speaks at Entrepreneurs League Meeting

LD0804223793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1224 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksey Filatov and Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Apr—“Entrepreneurs are the support for the Russian Government and president,” academician Vladimir Tikhonov, leader of the League of Cooperators and Entrepreneurs, stated today in the Hall of Columns at a meeting of the league in support of reforms. At the same time, he called on the heads of executive authority to pay greater attention to the creation of normal conditions for the development of Russian business.

Speaking at the meeting, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays warned the entrepreneurs against “not understanding what the government is actually striving toward and what the possibilities of the present actual structures of power are.” Another danger, he believed, is the “moderate-centrist balanced approach,” under the slogan of which “a recoil backwards may occur.” “There is only one alternative,” Anatoliy Chubays claimed, “either to go forward or go toward those communists who today are trying to control parliament, and who are doing it very successfully.”

Zorkin Cited on Political, Constitutional Crisis

LD0804165993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1511 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Valeriy Sanfirov report on news conference by Valeriy Zorkin, chairman of the Constitutional Court, at the International Press Club in Moscow on 8 April]

[Text] [Sanfirov] Valeriy Zorkin devoted his news conference to two main subjects: the power crisis and constitutionality in Russia, and also the role of mass media in discrediting the chairman of the Constitutional Court. In Valeriy Dmitriyevich's words, not much is needed to remove him from office—which, incidentally, he can keep for 65 years. It would be enough to declare him, in the eyes of the people, a petty racketeer and an intriguer—and that would be it. In Zorkin's view, the MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS newspaper is especially zealous in the current wave of slander and lies. It is possible that he will sue the newspaper in the court of law. Well, it was certainly interesting for myself and for my colleagues attending the news conference, all of us representatives of the fourth power, to hear about respected Valeriy Dmitriyevich's integrity, and to learn that he is healthy in body and strong in spirit. And yet, what is more important for the future of Russia is ways to overcome the power and constitutionality crisis. Here is what the chairman of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation said from the rostrum on this subject.

[Begin Zorkin recording] Since around spring 1992, a certain confrontation has been unfurling in Russia. It has been deepening, and has now reached an acute stage. It concerns a profound subject, and in my view it is not whether to implement reforms, but through what methods they should be implemented. Supporters of different courses were divided, and all this spilled on to the constitutional level. The heart of the matter is that the two powers, the legislature and the executive, were increasingly failing to find a common language. Today, as you know, they have reached a stage when the referendum ought to answer key questions as to what should be done. This crisis, in my opinion—and I should like to stress that this is the stance of the Constitutional Court—lies not so much in the text of the Constitution itself. Let us look at Russia's Constitution. When people insist from every platform, in mass media, that it is Brezhnev's Constitution, I cannot help wondering. The principle of division of powers is there; the declaration of human rights is there; civilized principles of a federal state are laid down there. What then prevents us from living in accordance with this Constitution? Why does a question of a new constitution arise? And if we have embarked on the road where there is no absolute power, and there is, in the embryonic form, the division of powers—this mechanism is, of course, only just emerging—well, what should the Court do in these conditions? [end recording]

[Sanfirov] Later, Valeriy Dmitriyevich said that a wave of radicalism is now flooding the country. Even the president himself, in Zorkin's interpretation, when moving toward a compromise with the Congress, set the following condition: I am coming to you with peace proposals, but if you turn them down, I will wring your heads off. End of quote from the Constitutional Court chairman's interpretation. In Zorkin's words, the Constitutional Court could play a major part in settling the power crisis. Contrary to a widespread view, the court is not under the thumb of Khasbulatov and the Congress, but stands solely on the positions of the law. Incidentally, Valeriy Dmitriyevich himself sees Russia's future in a presidential republic with a bicameral parliament. However, in his view, none of the branches should have absolute power. But the Constitutional Court's role as peacekeeper can be undermined by a new Russian constitution, since the draft contains no mention of the Constitutional Court.

Zorkin Says Early Elections Needed To Resolve Crisis

LD0804185593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1556 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—Chief Constitutional Justice Valeriy Zorkin believes the nationwide referendum scheduled for April 25 will not solve the current political crisis in Russia completely. The aim may be

achieved only by early elections, he said at a press conference on Thursday [8 Thursday].

Zorkin informed that several legislators had requested the court to determine whether the questions of the referendum and the vote-counting system correspond to the Constituion. He said the court will decide on Thursday when the case will be considered.

Zorkin admitted that there is "the danger of politization of the Constitutional Court", but denied allegations that the hasty ruling adopted overnight about the presidential address to the nation was a political decision.

"If the programme of the president declared on March 20 was put into effect, then we would be unable to cancel the decrees of the president on March 21", Zorkin said hinting that the programme envisaged the suspension of the Constitution.

"In such conditions one should not exaggerate the level of politization of the Constitutional Court", he said.

"We defend the constitutional space for politics. Politics which are implemented by unconstitutional and, moreover, anti-constitutional means have no right to exist in a country which has a Constitution", he said.

Supreme Court Judges, Journalists Discuss Concerns

PM0804133593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Yuriy Feofanov report: "Judges Were Without Their Robes"]

[Text] The Russian Constitutional Court's first steps were taken to an ovation from the press, the latest ones to a storm of sometimes impermissible criticism. The Russian Federation Press Ministry therefore organized a meeting between the "sides" under the slogan "The Culture of Free Journalism." The judges came along without their robes, naturally—N. Viktruk (deputy chairman), T. Morshchakova, E. Ametistov, G. Gadzhiyev, and B. Ebzeyev. On "our" side, those people who constantly cover the Constitutional Court's activity took part in the meeting.

In the light of the Constitutional Court's recent decisions and actions you might have expected a conflictful discussion over specific issues—since there are plenty of those. Fortunately, it proved possible to avoid that. The "sides" acted on the premise that, as someone said, we have all emerged from the totalitarian system, "from the same greatcoat" (the minister clarified: "from Dzerzhinskiy's greatcoat"), legal principles are therefore having difficulty gaining a foothold and journalists see freedom of the press as the right to disregard everything.

Obviously the most important thing is for the press to literally tread the razor's edge and freely voice an impartial public opinion about the Constitutional Court's

decisions and other steps that are not always to everyone's liking while at the same time asserting the merits of the Constitutional Court as a necessary institution in a rule-of-law state and guarantor of the democracy that Russia has never known. We have not always succeeded in this.

The supreme judicial body has its own razor's edge to tread. This involves not only making rigorous legal assessments of the actions and acts taken by the authorities, but also calculating the consequences of these assessments. Should the Constitutional Court consider the consequences or is its destiny to be shielded from real life by a wall of formal rectitude? In this connection we addressed its latest decisions linked with the edicts and decrees on Moscow. The court acknowledged the unconstitutionality of certain acts, in particular those associated with privatization. But what is to be done now? Should everything be reversed? We recalled the decision on the National Salvation Front. Certainly, the banning of the Front was a breach of citizens' rights to form public organizations. That has been established by the Constitutional Court. But this organization's program is such that it threatens a global violation of citizens' rights. Some judges' attempts to analyze the essence of the Front and its intentions were suppressed during the hearing of the case. Incidentally, we recalled that the U.S. Supreme Court, when pronouncing verdicts, first considers the consequences. Not on the principle of expediency, but in terms of the postulates of the law: When asserting or denying the rights of one group of people, does the verdict not violate the rights of others? I would point out that it was not journalists but the judges themselves who said this.

The discussion also touched on the Constitutional Court's inner life. And broached the question of privileges in particular—only privileges not in terms of food allowances, but position and status. By law all judges are equal: They elect in the person of the chairman a manager or a speaker, but not a boss. In fact the law is being distorted—straight out of Orwell: "Everyone is equal, but some are more equal." There is the same picture in the parliament, moreover. Evidently, no one in Russia can live without a boss.

Many acute, contentious problems were touched on. The short resume given by Minister Fedotov was incontrovertible: Journalists who write about the Constitutional Court must know the Law on the Constitutional Court.

Democrats Campaign in Support of President Yeltsin

OW0904063593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2114 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Branches of a public headquarters for preparing and conducting the referendum have been set up in all the 88 regions and territories of the Russian Federation, Oleg Novikov, member of the board of directors of the

All-Russia's Association of Privatized and Private Enterprises, in charge of the headquarters told INTERFAX on Thursday [8 April].

A decision to set up the headquarters was made three days ago at a session of the Public Committee of Russia's Democratic Organizations.

In the words of Oleg Novikov, the headquarters will be essentially based on the local branches of the Democratic Russia movement. They will be assigned to collect the following information: The efficiency level of the local elections committees, on the canvassing campaign of the political forces opposing the president, on the situation with local mass media, on the stance of the president's emissaries in the regions since some of them, knowledgeably, are not supporting President Yeltsin.

The preliminary analysis of the available information reveals that the president will confront the greatest opposition in Komi, Karelia, Chita Region, and Mordovia. It appears that in these regions, the democratic alliances have no means to print up leaflets in support of the president, therefore the leaflets will be brought from Moscow.

Mr Novikov says his headquarters has reached an agreement with the local administrations of 18 constituencies of the Russian Federation in regard to dispatching to them special canvassing brigades composed of intellectuals and political activists in order to promote the president's image among the population.

Burbulis Discusses Competing Power Centers

PM0804154393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Apr 93 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Gennadiy Burbulis by Leonid Radzikhovskiy; date and place not given: "A Noose for Democracy. That Is How Gennadiy Burbulis Assesses Today's Situation in Conversation with Leonid Radzikhovskiy"]

[Text] There is no need to introduce my interviewee. His name is enough. He was considered Yeltsin's "eminence grise," the "No. 2 man" in the Russian echelons of power, and the "godfather" of the Gaydar government. He received his maximum share of hatred—everything that could not be directly said about Yeltsin was said indirectly when people cursed Burbulis.

But now the wheel has turned again, and the all-powerful state secretary has become a private individual who heads the "Strategiya" Center. Has he left big-time politics forever, choosing the quieter vocation of expert? Or is he getting ready to burst anew onto the political scene? I was planning to start our conversation with this question, but...

[Radzikhovskiy] Gennadiy Eduardovich, I wanted to begin with a question about "your creative plans," but we are meeting at such a difficult and important time—

maybe even a historic time. What do you think of recent events—the president's address and the reactions to it from the Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Court?

[Burbulis] You know, I see two aspects to this.

Yes, on the one hand, of course, this could be a turning point, it could be a "moment of truth." But, at the same time, it is just a development and continuation of a confrontation situation that has been there for a long time. In general I would draw attention to a feature of our Russian politics that has been typical of recent years. It can be expressed quite neatly by the proverb "measure seven times before cutting once."

Just remember the policy of Gorbachev and his entourage. In 1989-1991 there were many "measuring-up sessions" and they were always escalating—measuring up to a strong-arm policy. Tbilisi, Baku, Vilnius, and, finally, the show of force in Moscow in March 1991. And only then did the State Committee for the State of Emergency emerge.

There is a definite analogy. Only, thankfully, in this case we are talking about a policy of peaceful political confrontation—after August the political area "came apart at the seams" and a struggle without strong-arm methods was possible.

Confrontation is increasing bit by bit in today's Russian politics too. This is a process, a continuous process. And the congresses of people's deputies have just been landmarks along the way, staging posts. The confrontation scenario is repeated each time—on the one hand, there is an attempt to break out by appealing directly to the people and to voters; while, on the other hand, there is utilization of the entire might of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet to make the president's "room for maneuver" even narrower. Figuratively speaking, Yeltsin is constantly hanging on to this noose around the neck of the reform policy, and is trying to widen it, but hitherto every attempt has been self-defeating and the noose has tightened further, at least to the level of the so-called top echelons of power.

And now a new attempt has been made in this sequence of attempts. There has been another appeal to the people, even more resolute this time. There has been another reaction from the Supreme Soviet, even sharper this time. It is currently hard to say whether this situation will finally defuse the tension or become just another link in a long chain.

[Radzikhovskiy] But what lies behind this "confrontation?" Is it really a power struggle between people (Yeltsin and Khasbulatov), or between groups of the elite, or between policy lines, or between branches of power, or is it a choice between different types of constitutional system, or, finally, are we really seeing in this guise the problem of the genuinely historic choice of Russia's destiny? Just don't say that this confrontation covers everything...

[Burbulis] But that is indeed the case. Yes, it does cover everything. If, say, you look only at the overall, globally historical context, then you get lost in the specific maze of the struggle. But if you see only the individual moves—moves that are often quite minor—you completely lose any feeling for the overall meaning (or for any meaning at all) of this tough confrontation.

Throughout these years we have come to a better understanding of what is going on. I remember that, when Gorbachev said in 1989-1991 that political confrontation is based on a basic personal struggle for power, it was rejected out of hand by democratic public opinion, and it was thought that, for our part, the struggle was being waged purely on a principled basis, conducted almost by "higher beings," and that any mention of such base matters would merely "vulgarize" the situation. But we have had more than one opportunity to see for ourselves that politicians of both left and right are people first and foremost, and nothing human—above all, love of power and ambition—is alien to them...

[Radzikhovskiy] Sorry to butt in, but are you saying this doesn't apply to you?...

[Burbulis] Absolutely not. If I wasn't ambitious I would be involved in something other than politics and public life. I might be teaching philosophy, for instance.

Politicians' system of priorities and the historical context in which their activity takes place is another thing. If all their rhetoric and state activity are just a means to realize their personal ambition (if not their cupidity) that is one thing; if they are really setting themselves not just personal goals but state goals too, then that is another. And it also depends on where these goals lie and what kind of historical logic the politicians use.

So then, if you take the "Yeltsin-Khasbulatov" personal confrontation, this can very clearly be seen in the clash between these two strong and ambitious men. The orientation of both of them is quite clear.

Khasbulatov is not an ideas man. He is really fighting for himself, for his own personal political survival, and for the expansion of his "lebensraum." Hence his steady drift from the democrats to the nationalists (and quite extreme ones at that). Most of all, his strategy is divide and conquer. He acts as a "destroyer" who can stay afloat only by fomenting clashes between different political forces and acting as permanent referee. Yet no constant strategic goals are being pursued in this process. But this policy objectively suits some very definite and powerful social forces which, above all else, do not want stability.

Yeltsin—for all his virtues and failings—is a man with a definite strategic state policy. Here is simple proof of that. He deliberately put all his prestige on the line in late 1991 (when his prestige was very high) and ran the risk of being destroyed for the sake of advancing the reforms and pushing ahead with a definite strategic line. That

was an absurd act from Khasbulatov's standpoint. Khasbulatov, realizing perfectly well that the reforms could not proceed without severe suffering on the part of the population, immediately started deliberately playing up to populist slogans and posing as a "defender of the people."

Another point is that his innately profound disdain and disregard for people played a part in this—in his crude game he was counting on quite dim-witted and rather primitive people. He was wrong, of course. Most people recognized his game. Despite his every effort, his personal popularity fell sharply, and now he is being kept "afloat" only in order to let him "do his dirty work" and overthrow Yeltsin. Afterward the same deputies from the National Salvation Front will deal mercilessly with him too. And we could see the use of "below-the-belt" ploys that are impossible for Yeltsin or the democrats.

[Radzikhovskiy] Are you thinking of the "ethnic card?"

[Burbulis] That subject isn't worth going into.

[Radzikhovskiy] So far you've just been talking about personal confrontation. Let's turn to other aspects. After all, we have been taught that people carry with them ideas, interests, and ideologies.

[Burbulis] You see, I believe that the Marxist analysis... Incidentally, why "Marxist?" Attempting to constantly answer the question "cui bono?" is quite simply an absolute necessity. Indeed, each time I hear, "amazing" speeches from some deputies, I recall Hamlet's words "Is there not something in this more than natural? 'Tis passing strange."

It is from this standpoint, it seems to me, that we should be making amendments to certain simplistic outlines of today's political struggle like the "Short History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)." It pits the "people" against the "forces of reaction," "brownshirt Reds," "neo-Bolsheviks," and so forth. This is all very naive, to put it mildly, and gives rise to "Narodnaya Volya" [revolutionary organization in Russia in the 1880's] illusions. The people, by definition, are sacred, right, and cannot be wrong, while the forces of reaction are something demonic—like Jews and masons, only different, or so many two-legged "hounds of the Baskervilles"... No, things are all more human and more complicated.

Needless to say, there is no such thing as one single people. There is no politician who can say that he accurately reflects all the thoughts of this people. Different groups of the people have different interests, often diametrically opposed.

Most politicians—those represented in parliament, say—reflect one way or another the interests of various groups of the political, social, or economic elite. That is the case in many countries; the more profoundly developed and ramified the system of political democracy, the more politicians representing non-elite groups emerge at

the top. With our completely unstructured society, we have mainly elected populists who made promises and easily forgot about them. Having dissociated themselves from their voters, these deputies are essentially people without any roots who have formed their own closed "pseudo-elite" circle. Essentially they are just civil servants in the big department called the "Supreme Soviet," subordinate to their director Khasbulatov and living on the principle that what's good for the Supreme Soviet is good for the country too. That is the measure of the first group of the so-called political elite—it is thinking of its own departmental, corporate interests. Only don't think that all they need is their apartments on the Rublevskiy Highway. They need their main asset—power. The dividend on this asset comes in the form of apartments, cars, travel, participation in commercial structures, and all the rest of it...

So they are fighting not for communism, not for Russia, not for totalitarianism or democracy, but for something understandable—corporate interests, the power of their department, and their position within the office. And this is known by a beautiful name—the struggle for the stability of the Constitution, the struggle for a parliamentary republic, and, naturally, the struggle for democracy.

[Radzikhovskiy] But let's be objective, Gennadiy Eduardovich. Why does the same thing not apply to officials in the Council of Ministers and the president's apparatus? Why, to use your logic, can we not say that people are fighting for corporate and departmental interests, while calling it a "struggle for a presidential republic?"

[Burbulis] Yes, of course it applies to them to a certain extent. But there is one decisive difference—a functional difference. The government (and, correspondingly, its officials) is responsible for concrete things and must do them as best it can. It cannot be a purely parasitical organ concentrating solely on its own "bread-and-butter" interests. This also applies to the president's apparatus. But the Supreme Soviet is not responsible for anything specific. That is how it differs from the executive.

[Radzikhovskiy] But that is normal, that is the case in any parliament.

[Burbulis] But one thing is not normal—unlike all other parliaments, our Supreme Soviet, while retaining all the rights of a parliament, wants to add to them the abilities of a government and an executive. It wants the responsibility of a parliament but the rights of a government (disposing of money, funds, and so forth). There was only one such monster which could do everything without being responsible for anything—the CPSU Central Committee.

[Radzikhovskiy] Let's go back to the political elite. Surely not everything boils down to deputies living off the dividends earned by their status. After all, there are deputies who express not only the interests of their corporation, but also those of broader social groups, groups in the same elite.

[Burbulis] In our postcommunist elite I would spotlight above all the corps of directors.

Of course, almost none of them wants to return to the "pre-August era." All these people, naturally, do not want to be officials in a communist government, they want to be property owners owning their own plants in one form or another. This desire of theirs objectively seems to be working in the market's favor.

[Radzikhovskiy] Why "seems?" They are a real group advancing the cause of capitalism in Russia.

[Burbulis] True. But what kind of capitalism? These people also want to maintain their enterprises' monopoly positions and the crazy system of state "loans" to them. They need "industrial kolkhozes," where to all intents and purposes they would act as "industrial feudal lords." They particularly want to be owners when it comes to distributing profits, but as regards production proper, they do not want to bear any real personal commercial risk. The state's bottomless pockets cover all losses again and again, just as they cover the losses of loss-making kolkhozes. A system where production is state-owned but rewards [prisvoyeniye] are private is not state capitalism. It is a kind of "communism"—from each according to their sometimes moderate "capabilities," and to each according to their immoderate "requirements."

Needless to say, this is grand larceny. Many directors are fully prepared for the real market. Many do indeed need state credits and they often actually fail to get them, but I am talking about the trend among a considerable proportion of the so-called "corps of directors."

Hence their dislike of "Chubays-style" privatization and their firm desire to conduct privatization so that they remain owners or become owners for the first time.

[Radzikhovskiy] But these people, whether some people like it or not, are a large social force—all the more so as collectives often follow them. We need to be able to compromise with them.

[Burbulis] We do. And that often happens. But what can I tell you? If such compromises had not been reached, we would have witnessed the complete collapse of the economy and all social life.

But the authorities should be compromising with the directors rather than being at their beck and call. If the authorities are reform-minded, if they set realistic but reformist goals, then we have to ask ourselves: To what extent do these goals coincide with the interests of the corps of directors? And then, on this basis, enter into the inevitable agreements.

[Radzikhovskiy] Gennadiy Eduardovich, how would you—one of the "fathers of reform"—define its aims today? You were once scared of saying the word "capitalism." Will you say it today?

[Burbulis] That is a question at the level of the secretary of Ulyanovsk Oblast Committee, who is calling for a referendum on capitalism or socialism. How people vote is what will happen. We will depict how we are going to live.

The socioeconomic aim of reform, from my standpoint, can be expressed as follows—creating the institution of private ownership. People should live in a society where they can freely and fearlessly acquire any private property.

The experience of history shows that nothing more in keeping with human nature has been conceived in the past 10,000 years. It is not an ideal system, but it is a normal one. And a system which somehow suits Europe, Southeast Asia, and America while by no means effacing national characteristics.

In order to achieve this we must combat state monopolies, racketeering, and the mafia, which devalue the institution of private property by reducing it to highway robbery, and we must fight our own pathological corruption.

Private property and the rule-of-law state are two sides of the same coin, bearing the legend "minimum conditions needed for human existence."

[Radzikhovskiy] Nonetheless, it is strange to think that anyone could be against such goals unless, as you said, they were the "devil incarnate" or the "hound of the Baskervilles."

[Burbulis] Nobody is. It is just that different groups have their own immediate goals closer to heart, and in the actual political situation these run counter to the global goals of reform.

Take regional leaders, for instance. They want the most rights for their regions. And this encourages many of them into confrontation with a strictly hierarchical executive and presidential power. Within their own regions they may quite possibly be in favor of a rule-of-law state. But, shaking up Russia's integrated organism, they objectively produce chaos and reap a whirlwind that will bring a wild storm into their homes.

[Radzikhovskiy] But surely compromise has to be reached even with regional leaders?

[Burbulis] Yes, Russia can no longer be run by "scribes of the czar" in the Kremlin. There must be a real federation with the broadest rights given to local authorities. There is no argument about that. But the broader those rights are, the clearer the rights and the stronger the capabilities of the presidency must be. Otherwise, without a firm backbone of authority, Russia will simply disintegrate.

[Radzikhovskiy] Do you mean the Gorbachev formula of "strong center/strong republics?"

[Burbulis] If you like. It has an unfortunate ring to it—rather like a flippant demagogic promise of universal harmony and happiness—but there is a grain of truth to it.

[Radzikhovskiy] And who are the opponents of this formula, in Moscow?

[Burbulis] I assume your question is rhetorical. Everyone knows who its opponents are—the supporters of the Russian Empire, the most ardent “patriots,” the most passionate Russian nationalists.

It is, of course, an irony of history that these same people, with their empire fixation and their innate hostility to any form of democracy, are today the most zealous defenders of the parliamentary republic and of every last comma in the Constitution. Any decision by the president to strengthen central power provokes them not merely to hysterics (dictatorship!—how they loathe that word, after all), but to outright calls for armed resistance! Armed resistance to what? To the monstrous task of strengthening the Russian state.

Of course, there is an element of pure social paranoia here, on the principle: Whatever is bad for Yeltsin, is good. Would a plague in Russia be bad for Yeltsin? “Then long live the plague!”

But there is also cold, cynical calculation. They know very well that today the parliamentary republic is doomed, it cannot last long. It only acts as a catalyst for “great upheavals,” and culminates in dictatorship. That blessed goal—as they see it—is not far off, and that is what they have their eyes on when they defend the “parliamentary republic” and the Constitution. They are real homegrown Machiavellis.

Today they are still prepared to tolerate Khasbulatov at the top. Tomorrow his place will be taken by the “parliamentary” leader of the National Salvation Front, and the next day by a figure from the Makashov-Anpilov-Nevzorov mold. And that will be their “rebirth of Russia,” their “regeneration of the country.”

A presidential republic does not suit them, quite apart from the name of Yeltsin, primarily because it is not authoritarian enough. A presidential republic fits into the framework of a civil rule-of-law society. But the “intransigents” loathe the very idea of a civil society, they cannot conceive of living in such a society. For them, the normal, natural condition of Russia is one of arbitrary rule and totalitarianism. That is what they mean by Russian uniqueness, that is what they mean by the “Russian way”—the way to Siberia, to exile.

[Radzikhovskiy] Do you really think this scenario is possible?

[Burbulis] Yes. More than that, I think it is very probable, unless the democrats, who today are disunited and all too independent of each other, close ranks in the struggle against the very real threat of fascism, of Nazism, in Russia—in the struggle, if you like, against

real Russophobia, in the struggle for Russia's salvation, for the necessary conditions of human existence.

Referendum Issues

Yeltsin Meets Lawyers; Referendum Legality Discussed

LD0804211393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin met a group of leading Russian lawyers in the Kremlin today. The state of constitutional legality in the country was analyzed and the legal aspects of holding the referendum were examined, the Russian Federation president's press service reported.

Yeltsin Meets Media Representatives on Referendum

LD0904122993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Passages within quotation marks recorded; from the “Vesti” newscast]

[Text] In the run-up to the referendum, Russian President Boris Yeltsin is continuing his meetings with various sections of the public. Today the president met representatives of the fourth power [journalists]. Details of this meeting are in a report by Valeriy Vinogradov.

[Vinogradov] Russian President Boris Yeltsin met with the editors in chief of central newspapers and representatives of television companies in the Kremlin today. Most of the discussion centered on the referendum.

[Yeltsin] “This is Russia's destiny. All of you know perfectly well that if there is no president, then the most extremist forces will take power, and the whole world will tremble as this would indeed be a catastrophe for the economy.”

[Vinogradov] The situation in the country is a complex one, and a confrontation before 25 April is boiling up. This was pointed out by the newspaper editors. The president believes that, from the moral point of view, there should be a yes answer to all the questions. And if you speak about the consequences of the referendum, the most fundamental ones are answers to the first question. If they are mainly a positive yes then.... [sentence unfinished as heard]

[Yeltsin] “We must take it in combination with the last question—the re-elections of people's deputies. If there are re-elections then the Supreme Soviet will lose its power and then the president, if this question is solved in a positive way, would then virtually operate under a system of presidential rule.”

[Vinogradov] The date for the new elections will be set by the president, but there are alternatives, too.

[Yeltsin] "We could convene the Council of the Federation so that the council can set a date for the elections of the president and of people's deputies. This is a more interesting alternative and, of course, a more democratic one. The Council of the Federation must squeeze out this illegitimate nature of our bodies of power and take over basic power in the country completely."

[Vinogradov] It became known today that the president may go into re-elections with a new draft constitution, elaboration of which has already been almost completed by leading jurists. This will be his program, and its ten main principles will be published by 25 April. And one more bit of news: A presidential decree on abolishing the two-fold increase in the price of gasoline and rents will be signed today. The officials guilty of this will be dismissed from their posts.

Confident of Support, Ready for Elections

OW0904122293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1215
GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During a meeting with the editors-in-chief of Russian newspapers and magazines Friday [9 April] Boris Yeltsin expressed confidence that the people would support him at the April referendum. He also expressed his readiness for early presidential elections, retaining his presidential post meanwhile, if the results of the referendum were negative.

In view of this, Yeltsin said that following the April referendum the Council of the Federation should fix the date of the presidential and parliamentary elections. He expressed the opinion that the Council of the Federation should press out the current "illegitimate" authoritative bodies, elected while the Soviet Union still existed, and assume power.

Russian TV reported that on April 9 Yeltsin would sign the decree annulling the increase in rent and in prices for gasoline. Legal action would be taken against those guilty of taking such a decision.

Ryabov Addresses Local Soviet's People's Deputies

Cited on Referendum Consequences, Media

LD0904110393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in
Russian 0800 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] The legal basis of the national poll or referendum in the Russian Federation does not stand up to criticism. The carrying out of this political act is fraught with serious consequences for Russian society and state integrity.

Those were the points singled out by Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Nikolay Ryabov in his speech at the conference of people's deputies from local soviets taking place today in Moscow, as we have already reported.

Assessing the decisions of the Ninth Congress on the referendum and freedom of speech in the mass media, Ryabov said that local soviets have the right to immediately put into effect the clauses of these documents. He called on the people's deputies to set up observer councils at local radio and television stations. We cannot delay these issues, Ryabov underlined.

Situation Necessitates Referendum

OW0904133293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1316
GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vice-Chairman of the Russian Parliament Nikolay Ryabov believes that although the referendum is not the best way of settling the crisis of authority, it has to be held, given the current situation.

He told the deputies of local councils on April 9 that the referendum on confidence in Boris Yeltsin's presidency was a referendum on trust in the individual, Boris Yeltsin. In view of this, "on the basis of the results, the president is to decide on his own whether or not to resign, because the referendum will have no legal consequences," said Ryabov. If not enough voters came to polling stations and voting did not take place, the votes of the president's opponents "must not be disregarded," particularly if the majority of those who did [take] part in the referendum said "no" to the president. The results of voting on the first two questions should be used as a basis for deep analysis of the situation, not for radical actions by the conflicting parties, he went on to say. If the majority of the voters supported the president, Yeltsin's further moves must not infringe on the constitution. Neither must he be given a free hand to take revolutionary actions.

The results of voting on the third and fourth questions would entail clear cut legal consequences and the congress of people's deputies would have to take a decision on early elections. However, prior to the elections, the parliament should adopt laws on the election of people's deputies and president, and amend the current constitution or adopt a corresponding constitutional law on early elections.

Ryabov also said that the 9th Congress of People's Deputies had eliminated the institution of the president's local representatives, and said that they must no longer be financed.

He also proposed that the local councils should become co-founders of regional TV and radio companies as soon as possible and control the promotional campaign by the local TV and radio companies on the eve of the referendum. Only this way can we upset the monopoly on the freedom of speech usurped by many of the mass media, Ryabov said.

Ryabov Said Preparing To Discredit Referendum

OW0904133693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1317
GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian People's Deputy Aleksey Surkov believes that the aim of assembling deputies in the parliament center is "yet again, in the eyes of those organizing the referendum, to discredit the Russian president's idea of receiving a vote of confidence from the people." Surkov, the coordinator of the parliamentary Reform Coalition, stated this in an interview with INTERFAX on the meeting of deputies from local councils held Friday [9 April].

Surkov said that in his address Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Nikolay Ryabov claimed that after the referendum the president would have to appeal again to the Congress of People's Deputies for his powers, and that the results of answers to the first and second questions on the referendum (on confidence in the Russian president and on confidence in his social and economic policy) would not have any legal consequences and should not become a basis for any radical actions.

According to Surkov, at the assembly the Russian Supreme Soviet leadership "is preparing councils in advance for discrediting the results of the referendum."

Ryabov Warns Against Misinterpreting Results

LD0904140293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1350
GMT 9 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—The vote on the third and fourth questions of the referendum, i.e. on the preterm presidential and parliamentary elections, is "a cardinal civilised way to surmount the political crisis", Vice-Speaker of the Russian Supreme Soviet Nikolay Ryabov told a meeting of local council members, called here today on the initiative of the Russian Supreme Soviet and the Moscow parliamentary centre.

"A decision to hold preterm elections will be valid if more than 50 per cent of the registered electors vote in their favour," the vice-speaker noted.

"The same vote-counting system is to be used to sum up the results of the vote on the first two questions—on confidence in the president and in the socio-economic policy conducted by him and his government," Ryabov stated. He stressed that the votes should be counted on the basis of the referendum law and not the rules governing presidential elections, which are known to be conducted on an alternative basis and envisage the competition of several candidates.

Ryabov served warning against any "parallel interpretation of the results of the referendum by different structures". He noted that the answers to the first two questions were of a "purely political nature and could not predetermine Boris Yeltsin's further fate, which he should decide himself". The outcome of the vote of confidence in the president "will not determine the fate of Russia. They are more of a consultative character". He also noted that if the voters said "no" to the first question, this would not mean an abolition of the Presidency. At the same time, the people's expressed wish to re-elect their deputies before the expiration of their terms should not be interpreted as a decision to abolish the congress.

"The margin of concord between the executive and legislative branches of government will become narrower" after the referendum, Ryabov believes. In his opinion, the people do not want to abolish this or that arm of government—the executive or legislative authorities, the Presidency or the MPs [members of parliament]. The society needs both branches of government. By deciding to hold a referendum, "we have assumed responsibility for the future of the country. It should be equally borne by the president, the Supreme Soviet and all the subjects of our Federation," he stated.

More Than 100,000 Local Commissions Set Up

OW0904133093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1317
GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Eighty-nine district electoral commissions and more than 100,000 local electoral commissions have been set up in Russia for the April referendum, Chairman of the Commission for the Referendum, Vasily Kazakov, told the deputies of local councils on April 9. Each of the electoral districts has received 180,000 rubles. The lists of voters include 106 Mn [million] electors.

The price of each ballot paper, whose specimen copies have been confirmed and sent to the local commissions, is 8 to 12 kopecks. They will be printed with a reserve of 2-3%. The opposite side of the ballot paper must carry the signatures of two members of the electoral commission.

Kazakov stressed that the regions of the Russian Federation have the right to raise their own questions during the referendum. These questions must have regional not national significance.

Army To Conduct Referendum Without Observers

OW0904133593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1317
GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Closed polling stations will be set up at Russian Army units for the April 25 referendum. Nevertheless no

observers from political and public organizations will be allowed there, Deputy Defense Minister Valeriy Mironov told INTERFAX. "We have enough of our own military public representatives capable of verifying the correctness of voting," he stressed.

Valeriy Mironov fears that representatives of political and public organizations will, wittingly or unwittingly, engage in agitation among the servicemen.

The military command would not conduct any campaigning among the servicemen, the deputy defence minister told a news conference in Moscow on Friday [9 April]. The commanders and committees for work with the personnel would only explain the procedural issues connected with the referendum.

In answer to questions Valeriy Mironov said that it had been decided not to conduct the referendum among the Black Sea Fleet personnel, except for a unit stationed in Novorossiysk. According to him, about 260,000 Russian servicemen stationed beyond Russian borders will take part in the vote.

'Union for Renewal' Statement Opposes Referendum

OW0804144593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1424 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The forthcoming referendum will cause a new spiral of confrontation and political speculation about its results, according to a statement by the Russian Union for Renewal (Obnovleniye), circulated on April 8. Even a slight and juridically insignificant victory for one of the parties may be interpreted as the people's consent to the destruction of the constitutional system and, for that matter, of the Russian state, the statement continued.

The Russian Union for Renewal opposes the referendum, and is campaigning for an end to destructive confrontation and for the authorities' refusal to intervene in each other's spheres of responsibility.

Both the president and the congress demonstrated that they had tapped the reserve of constructive cooperation. Given this, the only thing the citizens can do is to support the idea of early presidential and parliamentary elections.

The Russian Union for Renewal belongs to the Civic Union centrist alliance and is led by Aleksandr Vladislavlev.

Filatov, Shumeyko Confident of Winning Referendum

LD0904083293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0706 GMT 9 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Veksler]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—"The period of indecision is coming to a close, and the number of people who are indifferent to the future of democracy is being reduced. The information coming to Moscow gives ground for hope that we shall win the referendum," Sergey Filatov, head of the President's Office, told ITAR-TASS last night, after the end of the Confidence Day—a public action in support for democracy, the president and the reform, held at the Moscow Actors' House.

According to Filatov, the public action made him enthusiastic. "If every popular actor who took part in it has one million of admirers, of people who trust him, the president is sure to get all the support he needs. The most important thing is that people spoke at the meeting about the danger of losing freedom. This could [words indistinct] sustained," he said.

Filatov stressed again the need for holding the referendum. "If we want to set things in order in the country by legal methods, to counter the actions of the handful of people who are ready to seize power, the people should express their attitude to it, and this should be done within the framework of the law," Filatov pointed out.

First Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Vladimir Shumeyko also shared with ITAR-TASS his impressions of the party at the Actors' House. He said that "Its participants were the famous actors and, at the same time, just nice people whom we are used to trust [as received]. The fact that they all got together to express their confidence in the president made us feel stronger and inspired us with confidence of the morrow."

Faction Leader Says Referendum May Bolster Yeltsin

LD0804191393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0912 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—"The 'Concord for the Sake of Progress' faction is drawing up an alternative draft of an election law," one of the faction's coordinators Dr. Sc. Viktor Sheynis (economics) told a meeting of members of the parliamentary 'Coalition for Reforms' here in light of the possible preterm presidential and parliamentary elections.

The draft is intended to enhance the role of parties and public movements in the election process. It also gives parliamentary factions a chance to strengthen their positions. People's Deputy Sheynis, who is assistant executive secretary of the Russian Constitutional Commission, noted that only jurists had worked on the bill so far. Now it will be relegated to political scientists, who are to analyse it from their specific point of view. The draft is to be submitted for final discussion next week. Then it will be published in the press.

Sheynis also said that "it is still not clear according to what law" the possible preterm presidential and parliamentary elections are to be held. In his opinion, the old yardsticks are not fit for this today. This refers particularly to the Congress of People's Deputies. Sheynis told ITAR-TASS that he had "ceased to be an advocate of an early adoption of a new Russian constitution". He believes that this is fraught with the danger of the Federative Treaty being turned into a confederative agreement. He expressed fears that Russia might share the fate of the USSR. In the course of the current political struggle both sides "will be compelled to make concessions to the subjects of the Federation in order to win them over to their side". This may lead to the collapse of the Russian statehood.

As member of a faction, which backs the president's course of reforms, Sheynis urged the voters not to answer the second question of the referendum, asking them to assess the socio-economic policy of the president and the government. In his opinion, this question "is fraudulent and the reply to it can neither be 'yes' nor 'no'." It is difficult to approve of the entire course of reforms, but if the question is answered in the negative "this will not show why the voter is displeased". Sheynis said that he himself "might take the ballot with this question home or cross out both answers".

Referring to the results of some latest public polls, Sheynis said that more than fifty per cent of the population would most probably take part in the April 25 referendum, but he believes it is yet difficult to predict the results. "They depend largely on the election campaign and on the activity of the democratic forces," he believes. In conclusion, Sheynis said that the opposition might be cooled down if the voters expressed their confidence in the president and Yeltsin "will be able to pursue a calmer and more prudent policy, including in the economic sphere".

Factions Differ in Approaches to Referendum

MK0804120493 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY

KOMSOMOLETs in Russian 8 Apr 93 p 1

[Yuliya Khaytina article: "Invocations Around the Ballot Box. Never Stop Saying 'Yes'"]

[Text] In the approach to the referendum politicians have again indulged in the useful science of psychology. The presidential team, along with the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, is offering the easiest formula for answers at the referendum: Say "yes" to all four questions. And this includes a question about early presidential elections. This formula is seen by the president's comrades in arms as a fair move by him, whereby he demonstrates his confidence in the future.

Radicals from the Public Committee of Democratic Organizations, with which Democratic Russia is affiliated, have somewhat disagreed with members of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms: They propose that a negative answer be given after all to the

question about early presidential elections, thus showing full solidarity with the present head of state.

However, the Accord for Progress parliamentary faction and several dozen prominent public and cultural figures (both the former and the latter have issued official statements on this account) do not regard these differences as substantial. They consider only two questions to be really important—on confidence in the president and on early election of deputies. And they think that a 'yes' answer should be given to both questions.

Incidentally, the system of vote counting established by the congress (for a positive decision to be passed it takes over half the registered electors' votes) with respect to the question of confidence in the president is seen by the democrats as nothing more than the congress' silly pranks since this question bears no relation to the Constitution. According to Viktor Sheynis, if the majority of voters express their trust in the president, this will only dampen considerably the fervor of impeachment proponents, giving Boris Nikolayevich himself confidence in his powers. No matter to what lengths the deputies might go, however, the result of the voting on this question will bring no legal effects whatsoever.

Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev supposes that the success of the referendum fully depends on the organizational capabilities of the democrats. The latter, in the spirit of their good old traditions, have included in the 21 April program mass events in support of the president, in which some fairly famous performers and entertainers, for example Khazanov, will be taking part.

Sheynis is an optimist and he thinks that the required number of people will turn out at the referendum for it to take place. His optimism goes even further: He hopes that on the two key questions people will vote "yes." But even such auspicious results cannot resolve the outstanding crisis and they are only capable of producing moral dividends for the presidential side.

As for the rumors about holding, simultaneously with the referendum, a poll on the basic principles of a new Constitution, the Parliamentary Reforms Coalition is obviously skeptical of it. Viktor Sheynis himself admitted that he has changed his views on the method whereby a new Constitution should be passed, being convinced that constitutional reforms are not a one-time act but a fairly lengthy process. And the present congress can, in principle, take the first steps, notably abolishing itself and introducing amendments on the state structure and the separation of powers.

Democratic Groups Reject Pre-Term Presidential Election

OW0904063693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2114 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The democratic movements which have set up a Committee of Russia's Democratic Organizations call on the country's citizens to say no to pre-term presidential elections and yes to the remaining three questions, said Marina Salye, MP [member of parliament], a co-chairman of the Free Democratic Party.

She said that Boris Yeltsin had called on the voters to say yes in response to all the four questions, including the one on his own re-election, at the April 25 referendum because "he could not do otherwise for ethical reasons." Marina Salye made it clear that her party supports the presidency which had been institutionalized by popular vote rather than Boris Yeltsin as a personality who, in her words, is the sole legitimate authority in Russia.

"Now that the Congress of People's Deputies has staged a constitutional coup we should look for guarantors of democracy and be aware of the fact that the choice is not between a bad congress and good president' but between further development of democracy in Russia and a communist comeback," Marina Salye said.

She believes that numerous voters in Russia share this view but she is not sure that a majority will vote in support of Boris Yeltsin.

Program Examines Views on 25 Apr Referendum *LD0904090693*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1446 GMT on 8 April carries the "Parliamentary Herald" program, presented by Russian People's Deputy Sergey Nosovet. The topic of the program is preparations for the 25 April referendum.

Nosovets begins by interviewing Boris Andreyevich Zolotukhin, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Legislation Committee, who lists two violations of the law on the referendum in the Ninth Congress decision on the referendum. Zolotukhin nevertheless calls on the voters to vote in the referendum and support the president by voting yes to all four questions.

Nosovets points out that, contrary to Yeltsin's appeal, he will not vote for Question Three on early elections of the president. A. A. Ponomarev, chairman of the subcommittee for relations with public organizations of the Russian Supreme Soviet, explains that the elections of the president should be at least simultaneous with the parliamentary elections or later, the latter being his preferred choice. If there are more yes replies to Question Three than Question Four, the congress will say presidential elections must come first, so "we are interested in there being fewer yes votes in reply to Question Three." Ponomarev points out that, unlike the president, the congress refused to put forward the question of confidence in the congress—if that question had been there, there could have been a precise comparison in the level of confidence in the president and the level of confidence in the congress. But in comparing the third and fourth question, it is possible to indirectly compare

confidence, this being one more argument in favor of saying yes to Question Three.

I. M. Kucherenko, chairman of the subcommittee on questions of the work of judges and the procuracy, points out that if a person replies yes to Questions One and Three, then he contradicts himself: If a person is satisfied with the president, why should he re-elect him?

Zolotukhin reminds listeners that the democrats want early parliamentary elections in 1993, otherwise the political crisis will go on. He calls on listeners to reply yes to the question about early elections of deputies.

He explains that listeners should also reply yes to Question Two, thus expressing approval for the president's social and economic policy, because the economic reforms involved in the transition to the market would have been implemented quite successfully if the present deputies had not destabilized the situation to such an extent by their decisions against the reforms that they had caused hyperinflation.

Ponomarev says that the democratic organizations, first of all "Democratic Russia," are planning to stage another all-Russian action on 21 April. A large concert will be staged with major rock groups taking part will be staged on Vasilevskiy Spusk. Kucherenko calls on democrat colleagues in the provinces to organize such events.

Zolotukhin is in favor of all points of view being aired in the run-up to the referendum, if opponents have convincing arguments let them state them. He is convinced that the arguments put forward by the democratic forces in favor of the referendum will convince all sober-minded citizens of Russia.

Economic Issues

Shumeyko Says Claims of Production Decline 'Bluff'

OW0904024693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0203 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko stated at a meeting with journalists on Thursday [8 April] that the decline in production in Russia ended six months ago. "Therefore," he said, "claims that production has been permanently, catastrophically curtailed are a bluff that is being made for political aims." Shumeyko also claimed that since December of 1992, "from month to month" the rate of price increases has slowed. The vice premier feels this is associated with the government's "restrained" policy on issues of granting credits. He said the weekly inflation index was also going down. According to ratings from government experts, in January the index was 27

[.] in February 25

[.] and in March, 17

In April the inflation index will drop to up to 12-14

[.] predicted Shumeyko.

The vice premier said that the political opponents of the reforms course perfectly understand that if the government is given time and peaceful circumstances in which to work, substantial improvements in the economy will result. He said that was why the political struggle was so aggravated at the last Congress of People's Deputies. Said Shumeyko, "The scenarios which were played out at the Congress, by their very nature and development, showed that they were not arranged by deputies—they are simply not capable of that." Shumeyko believes the Congress "scenarios" were organized by former employees of departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

New First Deputy Fuel, Energy Minister Appointed

MK0904083493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 8 Apr 93 p 9

[Leonid Brodskiy report: "Anatoliy Fomin Appointed First Deputy Fuel and Energy Minister"]

[Text] Anatoliy Fomin's appointment as first deputy fuel and energy minister has once again confirmed the principle whereby new high-ranking officials are appointed in the Chernomyrdin government owing largely to their roots in Russia's key industries, this time the oil sector. The directive on the new appointment was sent yesterday for official distribution.

The directive appointing Anatoliy Fomin first deputy fuel and energy minister could not appear until the prime minister signed a decree changing the structure of the Fuel and Energy Ministry, after which it is entitled to have three first deputy ministers instead of one. Thus, Fomin's appointment marked the completion of the process of forming the minister's inner circle: Vladimir Kostyunin was appointed to a similar position a week ago, and Aleksandr Yevtushenko has long been working as first deputy. The ministry's formal reorganization, which essentially boils down to the creation of departments instead of sectoral committees, makes it possible to conclude that the Fuel and Energy Ministry may possibly split up into three ministries: of the oil and gas industry, of coal, and of electric power. Given this, it is entirely logical that the general director of the Megionneftegaz production association was made Yuriy Shafranik's first deputy. Aside from the fact of his personal acquaintance with the minister, another factor that had a role to play in Fomin's ascent was his position as an informal leader of Russian oil industrialists. By choosing him, Shafranik brought in a deputy who fully shares his views and is perfectly familiar with the situation in the oil industry, which makes Fomin the most probable candidate for ministership if the Fuel and Energy Ministry splits.

Raw Material Export Regulations To Be Tightened

MK0904075493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 8 Apr 93 p 3

[Vadim Bardin, Konstantin Smirnov report: "Foreign Trade To Be Treated According to Old Prescriptions"]

[Text] Addressing yesterday's session of the ministry collegium, Russian Foreign Economic Relations Minister Sergey Glazyev called for the centralization of raw materials export to be tightened up. In his view, this measure can stabilize the situation in the field of foreign economic relations; importantly, the rationale provided for it was the "catastrophic" situation in foreign trade. In spite of the West's traditionally cautious attitude to any statization schemes, in this case, KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts believe, it will be favorably disposed to the intensification of state controls.

Russia's Foreign Trade in 1992 and the First Quarter of 1993

In his report at the collegium Vladimir Golyakov, acting head of the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry's Economic Department, put Russian exports last year at \$42 billion and imports at \$37-38 billion. The report suggests that the domestic export structure continues to worsen catastrophically as a result of a dramatic fall in the volume of technical engineering exports (by three times compared with 1991) and a steady growth in the proportion of exported oil and oil products (in the first quarter of 1993 oil and oil products made up 62 percent of Russia's overall export volume, as against 50 percent last year).

The situation in the sphere of imports is no better. In the first three months of this year they have halved compared with the same time last year. At the same time the government has not as yet decided the question of allocating the requisite hard-currency funds to pay for critical imports.

Outlook for Stabilization of Russian Exports

According to Foreign Economic Relations Ministry senior officials, at present there are two areas for stabilizing exports. First, a package of measures to provide state support for the export of industrial goods has been defined in a program to stimulate industrial exports, as reported in KOMMERSANT-DAILY last week. Second, Minister Sergey Glazyev at the collegium session favored further tightening of state controls over the export of raw materials.

The latter idea is nothing new—it has been aired in the government since the beginning of the year and is already starting to materialize. Precisely, it means placing economic levers for centralized raw materials exports in the hands of the state—this is the ultimate task of the upcoming tender-based distribution of state export resources.

In addition, Russia's Western trade partners are interested in seeing greater state regulation in the export of raw materials. In particular, the extension of EC trade preferences to Russia, as KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported yesterday, is being linked to the "streamlining" of Russian exports, which is necessary in order to obtain dependable anti-dumping guarantees, which will inevitably lead to the centralization of exports. Russia's creditors are also advocating similar positions.

This is also confirmed by yesterday's directive of the Council of Ministers whereby a Russian Government delegation will take part in talks with the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It is expected that \$620 million worth of specially targeted loans will be obtained that will go to reopen and operate oil wells in western Siberia. Therefore, as long as support for Russia's private sector has not passed beyond the "model showcase" stage, Western creditors are above all interested in seeing real guarantees being ensured for the repayment of debts.

[Article contains following boxed text]

Russia's Foreign Trade

- Russia's export volume in 1992 amounted to \$42 billion; in the first quarter of 1993, \$6.8 billion.
- Import volume in 1992 was \$37-38 billion; in the first quarter of 1993, \$3.7 billion.
- In 1992 energy deliveries exceeded 50 percent of overall export volume; in the first quarter of 1993 their share rose to 62 percent.
- In 1992 the share of technical engineering products in the export structure was 8.7 percent; in the first quarter of 1993 its proportion, according to Sergey Glazyev, has approached zero.
- In 1993 exports for state needs will constitute 40 percent of overall export volume, while the share of exports subject to licensing will reach 70 percent (according to KOMMERSANT-DAILY expert estimates).

Glazyev Meets With Journalists

OW0904042793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0205
GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Beginning this spring the only method for setting export quotas on goods for state needs will be special tenders in which any Russian enterprise, regardless of its form of ownership, will be allowed to participate. So stated Russian Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Sergey Glazyev at a meeting with journalists. He said the first such competition would be held in the near future.

In the future, Glazyev said, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations (MFER) also plans to introduce this procedure on shipments of centralized import goods (imports purchased with budget funds and import purchases which go to pay off state credits granted earlier).

Glazyev also said that in the aims of developing Russia's foreign economic relations and expanding the number of establishments involved in foreign economic activities the MFER has sent the government proposals on forming a Russian Import-Export Bank (a government decision on this issue is expected in the near future), on expanding state support of credits for projects for modernizing enterprises that manufacture export products, and on substantial improvements in the system for providing information to establishments involved in foreign economic activities.

Head of the Russian foreign economic department "has not ruled out the possibility" of introducing some form of state monopoly on the export of raw material goods, although he explained that his understanding of this includes a tightening of the currency-customs control of state organs over the activities of export organizations in order to "make them observe the law" (experts estimate that Russia's losses from the illegal export of strategic raw materials totaled \$4-8 bn [billion] in 1992).

President's Report Views 'Brain Drain Problem'

LD0904093093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0747
GMT 9 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—Mathematics and computerisation are the two main branches of Russian science mostly affected by the migration of scientists. The West shows particular interest in young scholars. As many as 9,200 Russian scientists have found jobs abroad in 1992. These figures are cited in the Russian president's report, drawn up by experts of the Russian national "brain drain" committee. It also contains an analysis of the current situation and some proposals on measures to control the outflow of skilled personnel from Russian scientific institutions.

"The study of the 'brain drain' problem and, consequently, the adoption of concrete measures to prevent it is complicated by the fact that this process is quite heterogeneous and cannot be reduced to one denominator," ITAR-TASS was told by member of the committee Ivan Bolotin. "It is difficult to furnish one definite answer to the question of whether the 'brain drain' is dangerous or not. On the one hand, the nation's degradation and other catastrophic consequences are apt to occur only if the number of scientists drops to the 'critical level' of one million. However, the emigration of one or two leading scholars suffices to put an end to many scientific schools."

The Soviet Union had about 1.5 million research workers and science instructors as against 2.73 millions in the United States. Its share in the world scientific community dropped from 24 to 19 per cent in the period from 1975 to 1988, while America's share grew from 23 to 34 per cent. Russia had more than 900,000 research workers and science instructors when the Soviet Union collapsed. However, their number has not grown so far, but tends to diminish.

The Russian scientific community is alarmed by another phenomenon at present—the "defection" of scholars to various commercial structures. After all, in 1992 the share of migration abroad did not exceed two per cent of the total movement of scientific personnel from the purely scientific domain to other spheres of activity within Russia or across the territory of the former union. The latest assessments show that in addition to one scientist, migrating abroad, there are 10 scholars, who have abandoned scientific research for the sake of a more highly paid job.

Bolotin is convinced that these processes cannot be stopped. Moreover, this should not be done if one wishes to get rid of mediocrities. Nevertheless, conditions should be created in Russia that would allow scholars to display their true talent. This can be done only if the country's economy and culture are revived. Equally important is the purposeful aid of state and public structures to science and scientists.

Military & Space Issues

Yeltsin Edict on Draft, Discharge of Servicemen

PM0804175493 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

["Edict of the Russian Federation President on the Draft of Russian Federation Citizens Into Military Service in April-June 1993 and the Discharge of Soldiers, Sailors, Sergeants, Noncommissioned Officers, and Military Construction Personnel Who Have Served Their Fixed Terms of Military Service," signed by President Boris Yeltsin and dated Moscow, the Kremlin, 2 April, No. 419]

[Text] In order to maintain the strength of the Russian Federation Armed Forces and other troops and military formations I decree:

1. That all citizens of the Russian Federation born between 1966 and 1975 not having the right to exemption from or deferment of the draft are to be drafted into military service in the Russian Federation Armed Forces and other troops and military formations in April-June 1993.

2. Soldiers, sailors, sergeants, noncommissioned officers, and military construction personnel who have served their fixed terms of military service are to be discharged from military service into the reserve in April-June 1993.

3. Military units of the Russian Federation Armed Forces and other troops and military formations based outside the Russian Federation are to be manned by servicemen in the draft of 1 April 1993 only on a voluntary basis.

4. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers—Government and the organs of executive power of the republics within the Russian Federation and of the krais, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are to ensure the fulfillment of measures connected with the draft of citizens into military service in line with the Russian Federation Law "On Military Duty and Military Service."

5. For official use. [as published]

6. The transportation of soldiers, sailors, sergeants, non-commissioned officers, and military construction personnel discharged to the reserves and of citizens drafted into military service is to be carried out, as a rule, in detachments in the passenger cars of trains, or in aircraft (ships) according to a special schedule.

To this end the Russian Federation Ministry of Railways and the Russian Federation Ministry of Transport are to allocate the necessary amount of rolling stock, aircraft (ships), or seats in passenger cars according to the requests of the relevant command authorities, and to convey the citizens indicated at the times specified, ensuring safety measures and effecting payments for these journeys at the existing and mutually agreed tariffs.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[Dated] Moscow, Kremlin, 2 April 1993

No. 419

Security Officials Deny Widespread Phone Bugging

LD0804230493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1621 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By Crime Press correspondent Pavel Ovchinnikov for TASS]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—"A popular belief shared by the majority of the population about the total bugging of telephone conversations by security bodies is no more than a myth," officials of the Russian Ministry of Security said at a briefing on Thursday [8 April].

According to Alexander Zhilin, deputy head of the emergency-technical department of the Russian Security Ministry, no more than 1,000 telephones can be bugged at a time in Moscow and 2,500 telephones in Russia, even if all facilities available at the ministry are used for the purpose. Zhilin added that the business was a rather "costly pastime". To bug one telephone costs up to 100,000 roubles a year.

However, according to Andrey Bykov, deputy security minister, no expenses can measure the damage prevented thanks to the use of secret technical facilities.

"Modern criminal groups often have a transnational character and have their own reconnaissance structures, are well-equipped with special devices to detect the activities of law enforcement bodies aimed against them. It is practically impossible to do away with them without technical facilities, since they often turn out to be decisive in the struggle against drug trafficking, organized crime, kidnapping and corruption," Bykov said.

According to participants in the briefing, the use of secret technical facilities is carried out in keeping with the law on "criminal investigation". The use of these facilities is sanctioned by a prosecutor and is allowed only to obtain information about preparations of grave crimes.

More on Security Ministry Aide's Interview on Wiretapping

MK0904104893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Apr 93 p 2

[Interview with Aleksandr Zhilin, deputy chief of Ministry of Security Operational and Technical Directorate, by Oleg Rubnikovich and Nikolay Rafayenko under "Special Services" rubric; place and date not given: "Commercial 'Bugs' Give Russian Federation Security Ministry Headache"]

[Text] On 8 April NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA published an exclusive interview with Aleksandr Zhilin, deputy chief of the Russian Federation Ministry of Security Operational and Technical Directorate, which for technical reasons did not include some questions.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Many people believe that representatives of your service automatically obtain the prosecutor's authorization to carry out this wiretapping, if they obtain it at all...

[Zhilin] First of all it must be noted that in Russia there is very strict legal regulation of the use of operational and technical resources. I therefore want to say right now that all the talk alleging that illegal wiretapping is taking place is absolutely groundless.

Security Ministry operatives now wait in line for the prosecutor's signature. Under the law on operational investigation activity only five bodies have the right to tap telephone conversations: the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the Security Ministry, the Foreign Intelligence Service, operational subunits of the Main Administration for the Protection of the Russian Federation under the president, and the tax service. Thus, at local level within the MVD's framework alone around 90 services have been set up which have been granted the right to tap telephone conversations. Because of their poor technical equipment, some of the subunits I have named are served by the Security Ministry.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] On 25 January 1993 the Russian Communications and Security Ministries openly published a kind of joint document which General Kalugin, for example, claims allows your department to extract information unhindered from international, intercity, and local telephones and faxes. Is that indeed so?

[Zhilin] A paragraph in the law on operational investigation activity states that officials of organs engaged in operational investigations can carry out appropriate measures with assistance from officials and specialists possessing scientific, technical, and other specialized knowledge.

Under this premise we must work closely with the Communications Ministry, joint enterprises, and joint-stock companies, that is, with those organizations that control the mail, telephones, and technical communications channels. Without their help our activity is pointless.

In the order on the Communications Ministry of 24 June 1992 this department's staffers and joint enterprise employees working in Communications Ministry networks were advised to render assistance to our special services. Based on this the Communications Ministry and the Russian Security Ministry signed a "Joint Decision on Operational and Technical Requirements for Electronic Communications Facilities and Networks To Support Operational Investigation Measures."

The following factors prompted the need for this supplement. The hopelessly obsolete relay telephone exchanges launched way back in the twenties are being gradually renewed in Russia at the moment. Since 1990 "X"-type electronic switchboard systems produced by a Russian-British joint enterprise have been installed in Moscow. In the near future a Russian-U.S. joint enterprise intends to launch the even more advanced 4ESS digital exchanges. These systems provide for a multitude of services, including a police function—that is, the opportunity for the special services to hook into and tap telephone conversations. There is a total of 12 such joint enterprises currently operating in Russia. They serve thousands of subscribers. The prosecutor's authorization to put wiretaps on these subscribers cannot be obtained technically.

The way out of this situation was the "operational-technical requirements..." to which all communications systems being installed in Russia's network must conform.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Domestically produced and foreign listening systems and devices capable of detecting "bugs" have lately appeared on our market. How effective are they?

[Zhilin] This commodity has long been known in the West. In this country military plants began producing these products. Effectiveness... There is no particular benefit from detection systems because listening devices

can be detected by using them only if all equipment emitting radio waves is switched off. But even if you switched everything off in your own apartment, a television being used on the other side of your neighbor's wall or some equipment in a factory neighboring your apartment block could turn out to be a "bug."

As regards "bugs," which many commercial structures have started using, their appearance is a headache we could do without. These products, both ours and foreign, have no serial numbers, it is impossible to detect them, and if somebody finds such a "present" in their apartment or office, naturally allegations are immediately made against the Security Ministry.

Soldiers Want 'Resolute Steps,' 'Precise Line' From Yeltsin

PM0804141393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Apr 93 p 1

[Sergery Ovsienko report under the general heading "What We Expect from the President": "The Army: 'Resoluteness and a Clear Future'"]

[Text] The "Army Reform" group of deputies has carried out a sort of sounding of servicemen's feelings in a number of electoral districts. People's Deputy V. Seryakov visited military units stationed in the South Urals. These are his observations: Shortage of housing and low pay are leading young officers to leave in droves, and lack of coordination in the activity of the Defense Ministry and other federal departments is causing a host of social problems at local level (housing construction loans are not being allocated, problems in placing servicemen's children in preschool establishments are not being solved, and servicemen are not being protected against unlawful acts...) All this, together with the instability, inflation, and growing crime rate, makes servicemen feel uncertain about the future, and this is reflected in the Army's morale and combat readiness.

Radical Democrats have carried out something akin to sociological research and have revealed that the defense minister has disappointed many officers and that the Russian Army is being revived, in their opinion, on the same principles as the Red Army.

Defense Minister Pavel Grachev describes the situation in the Army in these terms: With the improvement in social provision and a 170 percent increase in pay in recent months the situation has considerably stabilized and troops are not making loud statements of discontent. We have persuaded servicemen that the difficulties experienced now are temporary in nature and that they will be overcome not just by the Defense Ministry but by them themselves at local level...

I know from personal contact with officers that it is uncertainty about the country's future which worries them most of all. If the president achieve stability in Russia, everything will slot into place and servicemen's lives and service activity will have a future.

The relieving of Pacific Fleet Commander Khvatov from his post has had a positive response among servicemen. Yes, strict accountability for outrages is essential. But resoluteness in other questions is also essential. The president should take resolute steps and pursue a clear, precise line—he will then be supported by the Army. In the military's opinion, the head of state's speeches should contain fewer idle threats and more specific decisions firmly indicating his position and the thrust of the reforms.

Armed Forces' Contract Soldiers Number 45,000

LD0804230393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Video report by Aleksandr Bondarenko; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] About 45,000 contract soldiers are already serving in the Russian Armed Forces. They are mostly in the ground and airborne forces and in the Navy. The first results of organizing contract service have been summed up in the forces of the Leningrad Military District. All the signs are that this type of service has a promising future.

[Begin Defense Minister Pavel Grachev recording] A decision has already been adopted and there are instructions from the prime minister. Monetary allowances are being significantly increased for those who do contract service. The monetary allowance will be somewhere in the order of 35,000-40,000 rubles per month depending on the post held. [end recording]

Parameters for 'Cosmos-2241' Satellite Reported

LD0804074893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0735 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—Russia launched regular "Cosmos-2241" satellite by "Molniya" carrier rocket from Plesetsk cosmodrome on April 6, 1993.

The satellite is provided with equipment designed to continue the exploration of outer space.

The satellite has been put into orbit with the following parameters:

The initial period of revolution—11.46 minutes; maximum distance from the earth (in the apogee)—39,171 kilometers; minimum distance from the earth (in the perigee)—620 kilometres; the inclination of the orbit—62.8 degrees.

Apart from scientific equipment, the satellite is equipped with a radio system for precise measurement of orbital elements, radiotelemetrical system for transmitting to earth data on the operation of devices and scientific equipment.

The equipment installed on board the satellite is working normally.

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov Opens Conference of Local Soviets

LD0904091893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] Our special correspondent, Vyacheslav Osipov, has informed us that a conference of people's deputies from local soviets has opened in Moscow today and that Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov has spoken. He emphasized that the power base of the soviets is just being formed in the Russian Federation and proposed the idea of making the soviets municipal. Khasbulatov said that the Supreme Soviet has always and continues to support reforms and that the crisis that has gripped the country stems from the failure of the social and economic policy of the radicals who are presently ruling.

Assessing the work of the Cabinet of Ministers, headed by Viktor Chernomyrdin, the parliament leader gave a mainly negative assessment and called it a "collective Rasputin." Pointing to the causes of the economic crisis, Khasbulatov said that the government has still not adjusted the course of reform.

The speaker blamed new Finance Minister Fedorov for the continuing disintegration of the Russian financial system. The speaker insisted that in order to find a way out of the crisis, a government of national trust should be created and an economic pact of concord adopted. Talking about the problem of the relationship between the constitution and democracy, Khasbulatov stressed that the creation of the institute of the president is a sad legacy of the Gorbachev epoch. Its only purpose is to cover up the mistakes in economic policy.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet admitted that the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies of Russia made a grave error by widening the president's powers without real grounds and called for the head of the executive power to be reminded of the promises that he had made. The head of parliament concluded that it was precisely the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies that saved Russian statehood from the introduction of autocracy in the republic. The speaker of the parliament suggested that a very likely result of the April referendum will be early elections of the president and deputies. At the same time, Khasbulatov emphasized that in the event of early elections, a new policy for Russia's development would be necessary. He accused the executive structures of bribing those individuals responsible for carrying out the referendum.

Predicts Early Elections

LD0904084593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0830 GMT 9 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—The soviets of people's deputies are "the main guarantor of democratic transformations" in Russia, according to parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov who addressed legislators of Russian regions on Friday. "To speak about democracy outside representative bodies of power is a chimera", he said.

The soviets are playing an important role in strengthening the federative basis of Russia and should assist executive authorities in implementing reform, he added.

Contradictions between the legislative and the executive authorities "could have been overcome long ago had they been not artificially created", Khasbulatov stressed.

The speaker is sure that new presidential and parliamentary elections will follow the April 25 referendum which, he said, will not solve the major problems, but will mark "the field for further actions".

"The most probable outcome (of the referendum) will be early presidential and parliamentary elections", he predicted.

The Russian people are mature enough to make the right choice, he said, but added that "if necessary" another Congress of People's Deputies can be convened after the referendum.

New elections mean new policy which, according to Khasbulatov, should consist in shifting the major bulk of work from the president to the government. The latter "is to be formed as a government of national trust and according to a programme of anti-crisis measures".

Calls Government 'Collective Rasputin'

OW0904100093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0943 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of Russia's parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov believes that a campaign is under way in the country to discredit the supreme bodies of representative power in order to torpedo them and let the president rule as he pleases. He said this in his opening speech at a conference of local bodies of representative power on Friday [9 April]. In his opinion, "society has so far been unable to find the way out of the crisis". The 10th Congress of People's Deputies in June, in the speaker's words, "must show whether the lessons of the collapsed initial stage of economic reform have been learned".

In Khasbulatov's view, the first results of activity by the new Russian government "are more negative". "The economy has been increasingly plunging in a destructive phase in its development, threatening chaos", the speaker declared. According to his figures, between 1991 and early 1993 production in Russia fell by more than 40 percent. Consumer prices soared between January and March 1993 by over 10 times compared with the same period last year. Wholesale prices grew still higher and paralyzed investment processes in the republic.

Khasbulatov believes that "the enrichment of a handful of new bosses is under way, bosses who are connected with the current political regime and support them now". He described as "particularly ruinous the fiscal policy of the finance minister, Boris Fedorov". "Since the makeup of Russia's government has in fact not been renewed, the course of reform has not been corrected or even formed," Khasbulatov stressed.

Here he voiced his conviction that the cabinet should bear responsibility only before parliament, and activity by the current government, termed by Khasbulatov "as a collective Rasputin" would lead to collapse. The parliament's chairman charged presidential structures and advocates of the President with "a total defiance of the current constitution and its renunciation as almost the chief obstacle to Russia's development". He urged deputies to stop and think "whether creating an omnipotent president had been worth while."

Stresses Role of Local Bodies

LD0904125693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent S. Dadyko; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Opening a conference of people's deputies of local soviets at all levels today, Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, said:

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] Russia is a huge, federal country and if it does not draw on the support of the regions, on local powers, and on the population, any reforms, as in the past, will be doomed, as they will be doomed now. [end recording]

In the opinion of the speaker of parliament, it is above all the bodies of representative power, through which the people rule the state, which comprise the whole of modern democracy. In our country these bodies, which have taken the form of soviets, are only just beginning to take shape. They do not at the moment have absolute power, as is often said, but traditional administrative functions which the local councils have in democratic states. The main task of today's conference is to prepare the ground for the municipalization of the soviets, in other words to impart them with true absolute power.

Rejects Communist Resurgence

LD0904123293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1218 GMT 9 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—The first results of the work of the Russian Government are "more negative than positive", according to parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov who compared the ministers with "a collective (Grigoriy) Rasputin", a notorious figure in the court of Czar Nicolas the Second whose actions undermined the imperial government.

Addressing local Russian legislators on Friday, he acknowledged that the government of Viktor Chernomyrdin has been working only for three months, but said that this is enough to "understand whether the lessons of the collapse of reforms have been taken into consideration", a clear reference to the policy of former Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar.

The speaker stressed that had it not been for the parliament which restrained the executive authority, the "destructive effect would be even stronger".

Lawmakers are ready for a constructive cooperation with the government to achieve positive results by the next Congress of People's Deputies which is to be convened in June.

"Attempts to fight to the death with the congress and parliament will weaken the executive authority", he stressed.

Khasbulatov ruled out the possibility that communist and fascist forces may come to power in Russia and said that the "slandorous claims are advocated throughout the world". He accused the presidential team of distinguishing only two political "colours" - democratic and anti-democratic.

However, the reason for the current crisis lies in the "unjustified and ruinous leap to a free market", Khasbulatov explained referring to Gaidar's reforms in 1992.

He added that the future congress will discuss economic transformations in detail.

Khasbulatov Criticizes Western Financial Aid for Yeltsin

AU0804093493 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0900 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] According to Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, the country's problems cannot be solved by hard currency billions. In an interview with the Hamburg weekly DER SPIEGEL, President Boris Yeltsin's opponent warned the West about the terrible error—as he said—of supporting the reformer Yeltsin. The president and parliament had long lost the people's support, said Khasbulatov. Russia had been plunged into

crisis by its leaders, and this crisis could not be mitigated by financial aid from the West.

The chief of the Russian parliament described the U.S. economic aid of \$1.6 billion promised in Vancouver as a bagatelle. As for the rest, Western chiefs of government were playing an unpleasant game with their support for Yeltsin. They focused one-sidedly on the support of a man who intended to set up a regime of personal power, said Khasbulatov.

Khasbulatov Defends Merits of Parliamentary System

AU0804100193 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 5 Apr 93 p 3

[Interview with Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov by Viorel Patrichi and Mihail Dumitru Sandu in Moscow; date not given: "There Were Radicals Among the Former Soviets, But There Are Radicals Among the Democrats, Too"]

[Text] Last Friday [2 April] at noon, in an elegant hall of the Russian Parliament called "the White House," Ruslan Khasbulatov met with members of the diplomatic corps accredited in Moscow. By chance, I happened to come close to the most controversial figure of contemporary Russia: Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of Russia's Parliament. A superficial understanding of the Khasbulatov phenomenon has led the foreign press to irrevocably cast him in the camp of communists and conservatives and consider him the main adversary of President Yeltsin, the latter being the innovator, while he is the restorer. It is hard to assess how much of the current situation in the Russian parliament represents a struggle for the defense of the Constitution or a clash for power and access to the consequences of reform. Nevertheless, one must admit that Khasbulatov is a fine analyst and a subtle duelist; therefore, Boris Yeltsin's nightmare will continue, despite the foreign help he enjoys. He was kind enough to answer the following question, thus offering us another image of the political life in Moscow.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Mr. Parliament Chairman, the referendum will be held. Until then there will also be large popular demonstrations and, due to the strong propaganda campaign to be launched—one can even talk of a crisis of confidence between the people and their deputies—it is possible that the parliament might lose this battle during the plebiscite. In our opinion, it would be extremely hard to assess the results of such a referendum with four or more questions; however, if the parliament loses, then so does democracy in the Russian Federation. How do you assess the situation?

[Khasbulatov] You are right, the situation is very complicated in our country. We are stunned by the way in which the foreign press reflects it. President Yeltsin is violating the Constitution and we are undemocratic. When I see what is being said about us, I get a headache. Of course, one cannot judge things now by ignoring the

situation that prevailed in the former Soviet Union and the dismemberment of the previous Union, which has triggered new tensions. Nevertheless, we managed to create a basis for human rights observance.

I consider myself one of the most liberal people in President Boris Yeltsin's entourage. As far back as 1990, I called for the introduction of private property. I am convinced that economic freedom is at the basis of human freedoms. We created the legal premises of the state of law. However, the source of tensions is objective. For Russia, this is quite novel, so, aside from the parliament and the Constitutional Court, we do not have other bodies to supervise the observation of the Constitution. The parliament itself is pro-reform; it does not oppose economic reforms. The people are against the erroneous implementation of reforms, but not against private property. The people have wanted privatization to happen for a long time, but honestly and by taking into consideration their needs, as well. We agreed with the president to launch the reforms in 1993, but we realize that we must first democratize our institutions. There are Western leaders who support President Yeltsin, even if he is violating the Constitution. We do not know what else to believe. We should not return to the sole command of a president who makes anti-democratic decisions.

I am an economist by profession. I dealt with international economic matters and I know that many people want to invest in our country, but this requires political stability. I am not afraid of the evolution of events. I accept submission to a popular ballot. The electoral law shows that the country's president must obtain the majority of those eligible to vote, not of those participating in the referendum. Maybe our laws are not good enough and our Constitution is imperfect, but this is all we have for now and we should observe them.

Unfortunately, we could not reach a compromise, but one cannot make politics without compromises, as even politics is a compromise in itself. The Bolshevik methods and the brutal Stalinist cynicism should no longer find a place among ourselves. Lots of money is being poured into the provinces to obtain the necessary votes, which is a very dangerous thing to do. A dictator is a dictator, whether he calls himself a communist, anticommunist, democrat, or pharaoh. We no longer want to have such things in Russia.

Our parliament represents the most diverse opinions. There were radicals among the former Soviets, but there are radicals among the democrats, too. Let us not forget that an important faction of parliament deputies has abandoned President Yeltsin. In each country of the world with democratic claims, the parliament exerts control—on behalf of the people—on the observation of the constitution and passes the budget. Our main concern is to ensure that all political acts are constitutional; 10 parliamentarians are dealing with just that task. A deputy has baptized this group "the Rasputin collective."

We will have it very hard because, as you just said, a generally ugly image is being projected about our parliament. Remember, though, that if one destroys the parliamentary system, one also kills democracy itself. Without a parliamentary system, we will never free ourselves from the nightmare of the past.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Thank you.

Committee Debates CIS Collective Security Treaty

OW0804143893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1425 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Parliament's committee on international affairs and external economic ties debated the CIS Charter and collective security treaty on Thursday [8 April] following the Russian President's request to speed up the review of these documents.

In committee chairman Evgeniy Ambartsumov's view, the ratification of the treaty gives at least some opportunity to keep the CIS intact. The pact has been ratified by 5 of its 6 signatories. The Belarusian Parliament is now debating its ratification.

Although the committee recommended Parliamentary approval of the document, it noted that "given some asymmetry on defense between Russia and other signatories, the pact will obviously mean in practical terms Russia's military assistance to these countries rather than the other way round". The committee believes that with current military and political instability in the former USSR, that "would be tantamount to attempts to involve Russia in various military conflicts with undesirable consequences".

It viewed as unacceptable for Russia Article 4 of the treaty, which makes the granting of such aid an automatic decision, and voiced displeasure with the treaty's clause saying that any decision to use armed forces would rest with the presidents of the participant-states in disregard of what Parliament thinks. The committee recommended government talks on amendments to the treaty.

Regarding the CIS charter, the committee argued that the principle of recognizing the existing borders (Article 3) might cause certain problems for Russia. It claimed for one that since Russia's frontier with neighboring states had not been demarcated Russia's state border was not yet clearly defined. It also said that such issues as the status of the Crimea and Sevastopol remained unsettled.

House Speakers Comment on Vancouver Summit

OW0904042693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0206 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ramazan Abdulatipov, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet's House of Nationalities, said in his interview with an INTERFAX reporter Thursday [8 April] that normalization of Russia's relations with the U.S. makes him happy but he regretted that "successes on the foreign scene is not backed by the internal policies." Abdulatipov believes that the main result of the Vancouver summit is the political support given by the U.S. President to Boris Yeltsin. About the economic support that Bill Clinton and the G-7 group pledged to Russia Abdulatipov said that "such promises were given to Yeltsin before and, earlier, to Gorbachev but they did not necessarily materialize." In Abdulatipov's words, "there is more to the Russian state than the parliament and president." For this reason the processes in Russia rather than personalities need backing, "even though Yeltsin is a very attractive personality in this sense and I have nothing against him." Veniamin Sokolov, House of the Republic's chairman, told an INTERFAX correspondent that the fact itself of the Vancouver summit is a welcome attempt to establish closer mutually beneficial ties between Russia and the United States. "But when President Boris Yeltsin says that our internal problems are in the sphere of the U.S. national interests one cannot agree," he added.

Sokolov was skeptical about the West's pledge to provide tens of billions dollars worth of economic aid. He recalled that last year "\$24 bn [billion] were promised but this aid has never arrived." He feels that "such promises cannot be taken seriously." "We should respect the G-7 group's intentions to provide economic aid to Russia but we should not lose dignity," he emphasized. He believes that "without intelligent state policy" of economic reform no foreign aid will be helpful.

Regional Affairs

Further on Abolition of Presidency in Mordovia

Democratic Deputy Urges Toughness

OW0804115293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1120 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Petr Filippov, a democrat in the Russian parliament, has described the developments in Mordovia as an attempt to test in the provinces a mechanism which could be tried at a federal level. He told Interfax that the events in Saransk were taking place with the knowledge and close control of parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov. Opposition members Sergey Baburin and Vladimir Isakov have visited Saransk, and another leading member of the Russian parliament, Valentin Agafonov, was there on Wednesday [7 April].

Speaking of the possible course of developments in Mordovia Filippov said that everything depends on the position the president and government of the Russian Federation are going to assume. He thinks the Russian

leadership should rigid and simply ignore the decision made by the parliament of Mordovia.

Further on Yeltsin Decree

LD0804121593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1142 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today signed a decree to ensure the unity of executive government on the territory of the Russian Federation, violated in the Mordovian Republic. The decree rules that the nationally-elected president of the Mordovian Republic and his government shall continue to discharge their functions, as stipulated by the Mordovian legislation, pending a Constitutional Court ruling on the Mordovian Supreme Soviet's decision to abolish the Presidency, the press service of the Russian president reports.

The Council of Ministers, the ministries and other federal executive authorities of the Russian Federation, are instructed to render the president and the Government of the Mordovian Republic every necessary assistance in the discharge of their functions.

The decree says that, in accordance with Article 132-1 of the Russian Constitution, the presidents of Russia's constituent republics are part and parcel of a single system of executive government in the Russian Federation, headed by the president of Russia. It also notes the Mordovian Supreme Soviet's violation of several concrete provisions both of the Russian and Mordovian Constitutions.

'Governors of Russia' Issue Statement

LD0804154993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1348 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Schevel and Aleksey Petipa]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—The Russian union of heads of regional bodies, "Governors of Russia" has circulated a statement on Thursday [8 April] in which it expressed serious concern about a law adopted by the Mordovian parliament on the abolishment of a post of the president in Mordovia and introduction of corresponding addenda and amendments into the Constitution of Mordovia.

The statement said that such unilateral actions of the Mordovian parliament violate the principle of separation of powers and impede the organization of coordinated work of the system of the executive power in the Russian Federation as a whole.

The document pointed out that popularly elected Mordovian President Vasilii Guslyannikov enjoys the respect of heads of republics and regional administrations, and that executive structures subordinate to the

president are establishing reliable contacts with other Russian regions which promotes the successful implementation of reforms.

The union of Russian governors has appealed to the Mordovian parliament to review its resolution on the abolishment of presidency in Mordovia and gave guarantees on its part to ensure well-coordinated and fruitful work with the Mordovian president and his structures for the benefit of the people of Mordovia and all Russia. President Guslyannikov has announced his intention to lodge a complaint with the Russian Constitutional Court against the parliament's resolution abolishing the presidency.

Shakhray Addresses Supreme Soviet

LD0804165693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Parfenenkov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Passions ran high today at the second day of the work of the Mordovian Supreme Soviet session. President Vasilii Guslyannikov, whose post was abolished yesterday, was not given the floor. Sergey Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who flew urgently to Saransk, managed to get to the microphone. He read out Viktor Chernomyrdin's message to the Mordovian people's deputies. It contained an appeal to strengthen interaction and mutual understanding between the Councils of Ministers of the Russian Federation and the Mordovian SSR.

A telegram by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, in which he expressed alarm over the abolition of the presidency in Mordovia, was not read, although the text of it had been published.

[Begin recording] [Parfenenkov] Sergey Mikhaylovich, what is the purpose of your visit to Mordovia?

[Shakhray] It is an attempt to restore the unity of the executive power of the Russian Federation. Unfortunately, the Mordovian Supreme Soviet has ignored all the bases of the constitutional system. It is also unfortunate that the Mordovian Republic is currently being used as a proving ground for testing political scenarios on the removal of heads of executive power from office.

The 25 April referendum must be used—and a decision to the Mordovian Supreme Soviet and the president has been adopted to introduce a question to the citizens of the Mordovian Republic regarding whom they have confidence in, the Supreme Soviet or the president of the Mordovian SSR. Let the people decide. The leadership should not be beyond their own people all the time.

[Mordovian Supreme Soviet Chairman N.V. Biryukov] There is one thing that alarms me somewhat. Why is there such interest on the part of the central, executive powers in the decision of our republican Supreme Soviet, which rightfully and constitutionally adopted a decision?

I do not understand this. First, one comes along, then a second, and a third. Today there was Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakh-ray. He is trying to interfere—at least in decisions that have already been adopted. I tell you that there is a calm situation in the republic, and the people approve. [end recording]

[Parfenenkov] Indeed, everything is perfectly calm today on the streets of Saransk.

More on Supreme Soviet; Guslyannikov Cited

LD0804210693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 apr 93

[Text] [Announcer] As was to have been expected the confrontation between the legislative and executive powers in Moscow has shifted to the local level. Mordovia has become the pioneer. An acute political crisis has arisen there. By the decision of the Supreme Soviet session in this republic, the post of president which was occupied by Vasilii Guslyannikov was abolished. Fifteen months ago he was elected to the post of president during free elections on the ticket of Democratic Russia. Meanwhile, Mordovia's Supreme Soviet consists mainly of representatives of the old structures. As recently as in December, Mordovia's deputies undertook a concerted attack on Vasilii Guslyannikov, accusing him of all mortal sins. After these propagandist preparations the deputies got down to business. By decision of Mordovia's Supreme Soviet the post of president was abolished. On 6 April Boris Yeltsin sent a telegram to Mordovia's parliament in which he expressed profound alarm in connection with the actions of the people's deputies. However, Mordovia's Supreme Soviet disregarded the opinion of Russia's president. Our correspondent Nikolay Vechkayev reports on what happened at the Supreme Soviet session on 8 April.

[Vechkayev] The day of the Parliament's work started with the deputies requesting Vasilii Guslyannikov to leave the meeting hall. They took such a decision on the basis of a resolution by the Parliament to abolish the institution of the presidency in the republic. After that, as the decision had been passed by the overwhelming majority of the votes, Vasilii Guslyannikov had to leave the hall. Then the floor was given to Vice Premier Sergey Shakh-ray, who had come specially to the session. He asked that the situation should not be dramatized and voiced the conviction that the Mordovian parliament's decision was taken in violation of Russia's Constitution and of the Mordovian republic. He told the meeting that Vasilii Guslyannikov had put in an application in writing to the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation and in connection with this he asked for the effect of the resolution of the republic's Supreme Soviet to be suspended until the Constitutional Court reaches a verdict.

The other side had its own arguments today. First, in their view, as far as the republics which make up Russia are concerned, they have the right to form their system, their organs of government and administration, which

was granted as a sole right to Mordovia and that such a right is the main one in resolving such a situation. Second, does the session have the right to strip the president of his post? The post of president was created by the Supreme Soviet session itself. This question of the presidency was not decided at a referendum as was done in Russia. That is why the Supreme Soviet is fully entitled both to introduce the post of president and to abolish it, irrespective of the fact that the president has been elected by a nationwide vote. Many experts believe the situation has arisen because of imperfections in the constitutions both of Russia and the Mordovian Republic.

[Announcer] Meanwhile, on 8 April Boris Yeltsin issued a decree which suspended the decision by Mordovia's parliament to abolish the post of president. In the very near future this problem must be examined by Russia's Constitutional Court. During the day on 8 April I managed to get into touch with Vasilii Guslyannikov, Mordovia's President. Here is how he assessed the processes taking place in the republic.

[Begin Guslyannikov recording] Under cover of such a difficult situation in the transition to the market economy, having making use of this, let's say, the old structures from the depths of the CPSU are again trying to come to power and such a thing is probably possible. And I assume that it is not fortuitous that Mordovia was chosen because Mordovia has the only democratically elected president from among democrats representing the Democratic Russia Movement. Prior to being elected president I headed the republican organization of our Democratic Russia Movement. That is why probably it was decided, as they say, to apply force here and to take up arms first of all against Mordovia's president. [end recording]

[Announcer] It is curious that envoys from Russia's Supreme Soviet took an active part in the matter of Vasilii Guslyannikov's removal. Saransk was visited by Deputy Chairman of Russia's parliament Sergey Agafonov and also Vladimir Isakov, one of the leaders of the opposition bloc Russian Unity. A ruling of specialists from the legal department of Russia's Supreme Soviet was also obtained with amazing speed. In it the actions of Mordovia's parliament are found to be in conformity with the Constitution. For the time being Mordovia's Supreme Soviet is forcing the issue, as they say, but it is unclear what the Mordovian voters will be getting out of this.

Shakh-ray: Could Be Tried Elsewhere

OW0904031093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0206 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakh-ray commenting on the abolition of executive presidency by the parliament of the Russian autonomy of Mordovia

said that attempts could be made to pull off a similar scenario at least in 10 or 12 other territories and regions.

In an exclusive interview with INTERFAX, Shakhray said Mordovian presidency was part of the Russian Federation's uniform executive system. He said the question was thereby one of overhauling that system and violating the principles of democracy and power-sharing enshrined in the constitution.

The Russian official believes the leadership of the Federal Parliament "has played a crucial part in what happened in Mordovia by providing political support to the scenario which has been implemented there." Shakhray said Mordovia "was just turned into a testing field to try to go ahead with the policy of abolishing the institution of a strong executive presidency started off by the 8th and 9th Congresses of People's Deputies in Moscow." Shakhray believes that the Federal Government, the president and the Constitutional Court "must show their resolve to try to preserve Russia's statehood and uniform government structures from top to bottom to prevent this sort of iniquity from snowballing."

Guslyannikov To Continue To Perform Duties

OW0904104993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1013 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mordovian President Vasilii Guslyannikov stated that he had no right to resign before the Constitutional Court took an appropriate decision. On Friday [9 April] he circulated a statement which said that his government would implement the Russian president's decree and continue to perform its duties until the Constitutional Court established whether the Mordovian parliament's decision on the abolition of presidency complied with the constitution.

Guslyannikov proposed that the deputies of the Mordovian parliament include two more questions in the national referendum: on trust in the president and in the deputies of the Mordovian parliament.

He stated that if more than half of the voters denied him their trust, he would resign. But if the people declined to support to the deputies, they will have to announce early parliamentary elections, he wrote.

"I understand that the majority of the deputies will not accept the rules of the honest game I am proposing," he went on to say. "But neither I nor the vice-president can give up the powers entrusted upon us by the majority of the Mordovian citizens just to please a hundred deputies," he stated.

Guslyannikov said that if parliament refused to include these questions in the referendum he would use his right to appeal directly to the people.

Acting Head of Council of Ministers Named

MK0904090893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Apr 93 p 1

[Radik Batyrshin report: "Heavy Artillery Committed to Action. Boris Yeltsin Signs Edict To Support Mordovian President Vasilii Guslyannikov"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Heads of administrations of Russia's krais and oblasts have joined in the fray on the Saransk "testing ground." The Union of Governors called on the Supreme Soviet of the Mordovian SSR to review its decision, offering it instead "coordinated, fruitful work with the Mordovian president and his offices for the benefit of the people of Mordovia and all the inhabitants of Russia [rossiyane]." Meanwhile, the law on the abolition of the offices of the president and vice president came into effect in Mordovia on 8 April. The Mordovian parliamentarians have appointed First Deputy Prime Minister Aleksey Garmashov acting head of the republic's recreated Council of Ministers. Thus, there are two heads of the executive branch in Mordovia—Vasilii Guslyannikov, who continues to perform his duties under Boris Yeltsin's edict, and Aleksey Garmashov, acting Council of Ministers chairman appointed by the republic's Supreme Soviet. If the latter agrees to obey the parliament's decision, he will find himself in a woeful situation. Since Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin, and oblast heads recognize Vasilii Guslyannikov as head of government, the operation of the Mordovian Council of Ministers will be virtually paralyzed: Mordovia receives huge subsidies from the center and can survive on its own funds for only a few months. Obviously, neither Yeltsin nor Chernomyrdin are going overtly to stop this trickle of money from flowing to Saransk, but there are many red-tape techniques to achieve this aim. It will not affect the interests of the Mordovian parliamentarians directly, but their chairs will definitely rock under them. At the same time, one should not forget that pressure from the center often backfires. However events may evolve, it is clear that the confrontation between Yeltsin and his opponents in the Mordovian theater of hostilities has not yet reached its climax.

Further on Accident at Tomsk-7 Nuclear Facility

Official Thinks 'Situation Is More Serious'

LD0804120593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1031 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Oleg Velichko and Igor Ivantsov]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Apr—Radiation on all axes stretching out from the scene of the accident at the Tomsk radiochemical plant is, basically, no higher than the natural level. A higher level has only been detected along the actual line of radiation discharge. This information was given to an ITAR-TASS correspondent by Matina Rykлина, head of the press service of the Russian State

Committee for Emergency Situations. She said that this information had been given to the committee this morning by Committee Deputy Chairman Viktor Vladimirov, who is taking part in the work of the commission investigating the causes of the incident and its consequences.

The radiation trail has taken the shape of an elongated segment stretching 15 km from the scene of the accident. The level of contamination in it ranged from 250 to 400 microroentgens [as received] an hour. At 3 km from the plant background radiation measured between 120 and 250 microroentgens an hour, at 5 km between 60 and 120 microroentgens an hour. In the area of increased background radiation, 22 km from the scene of the accident, there is only one populated area, the village of Georgiyevka, where 20 people live. The level of radiation there came to 35 microroentgens an hour. This is only slightly above the normal level which, in Moscow for example, averages 20 microroentgens. The highest level has been found 11 km from the scene of the accident along the Samus-Tomsk road (400 microroentgens an hour). This has fallen by five times as a result of decontamination work in this sector.

An MI-8 helicopter with four radiation counters, three disease control units, a radiological laboratory, three weather stations, nine radiation monitoring posts, and two agrochemical laboratories are working in the area of the accident. Constant radiation monitoring is being conducted from the air and on the ground, as is a geodesic survey of the terrain. The decontamination of vehicles and terrain is continuing. About 500 civil defense workers and 112 vehicles have been brought in to help with this work.

At the same time, Aleksey Yablokov, chairman of the Russian president's Council for Ecological Policy, believes that the situation is more serious. This is the third accident on the scale of Toms-7 in recent times in Russia, he told an ITAR-TASS correspondent on the telephone. He explained that the accident occurred as a result of an explosion in a 29-cubic-meter container which contained the liquified minerals of uranium and plutonium, and that a radioactive cloud has covered an area 20 km long and 9 km wide. In the scientist's view, the people who put out the fire in the wake of the chemical explosion have received a larger dose of radiation than was officially announced. "Inside the building radioactivity was 30 roentgens an hour and outside about one roentgen an hour," he stressed. Noting that there are forests and mountains in the zone of the radiation trail, the scientist said that it is still unclear how the radioactive cloud will behave next.

Aleksey Yablokov plans to ask the president to "carry out a complete inspection of all the dangerously radioactive sites, including military ones, on the territory of Russia," of which there are now hundreds. The scientist expressed concern over "the small accidents and embezzlements of radioactive materials which have become more frequent." The accident at Toms-7 confirms once

more that not only local administrations but also federal inspection and supervisory bodies "should be involved in tackling the problem of inspecting radiation sites," Aleksey Yablokov stressed.

Authorities Deny Plutonium Involved

LD0804143693 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1300 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] The Russian authorities deny that the explosion at the Toms nuclear processing plant the day before yesterday caused any release of plutonium. The Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy told the Finnish Center for Radiation and Nuclear Safety this afternoon that the exploded nuclear material container contained uranium and not plutonium. The Ministry also stated that the radioactive cloud over Siberia is giving off radiation equal to about 20 times the amount of natural background radiation.

The Center for Radiation and Nuclear Safety considers it very unlikely that substances released into the atmosphere in the Toms accident will ever reach Finland.

Radiation Level at Epicenter Reported

LD0804184993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1709 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Toms April 8 TASS—The radiation level in the epicentre of the explosion at the Siberian chemical plant reached several roentgen per hour and equals hundreds of milliroentgen per hour near the damaged building, according to the press service of the Russian State Committee on Emergency Situations.

The level of radioactivity in the settlements close to the Toms-7 city did not increase, excluding the village of Georgiyevka where it reached 35 microroentgen per hour which is less than the allowed norm of 60 microroentgen, the press service said on Thursday [8 April]. There are no grounds to resettle the residents of the village, it added.

Decontamination continues in the region to ensure safety of the population and prevent the radiation from getting into the Tom river. Experts are looking for places to erect dams and guide water from melted snow on contaminated territories to special settling tanks of the chemical enterprise. 35 people who worked at the site of the accident were checked by doctors. The maximum radiation doses they got pose no danger for their health. No penetration of radioactive uranium or plutonium into their bodies was detected.

The press service denied reports about the existence of a contaminated cloud.

Scientist Says 'No Serious Consequences'

LD0804181593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1757
GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—The incident at the Siberian chemical complex Tomsk-7 can be compared neither with the Chernobyl (1986) or the Chelyabinsk (1957) accidents as it is of times lesser in scope, academician Nikolay Ponomaryov-Stepnoy told a news conference at the Russian research centre "Kurchatov Institute" on Thursday [8 April].

He believes that such an explosion became possible because "safety matters have been worked out at military plants not so thoroughly as at civilian nuclear power facilities". In order to change this situation, the academician believes, safety limits should be set up at all such facilities to prevent emergency situations". [quotation marks as received]

Ponomaryov-Stepnoy pointed out that the radiation level is within several tens of curies, "there will be no serious consequences for the population and the environment".

Besides, there is no large concentrations of energy at the plant and therefore there could not be an explosion "similar to the Chernobyl one".

The academician believes an international commission would be sent to the plant as the world community is worried by what has happened. U.S. experts believe that out of 57 nuclear power plants in the former Soviet Union, 25 can be considered as "very dangerous." However there have been no reports about increases in radiation level in Scandinavia or Western Europe so far.

More on Radiation Levels

LD0804232193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Video report by A. Pelt; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A radio-chemical cloud containing zirconium and ruthenium substances was moving in a northerly direction from the radio-chemical works and affected two villages: Nadezhda and Georgiyevka. Not more than 1,000 people live in each of these settlements. They learned about the radioactive discharge that had taken place 12 hours after the accident; they learned about personal safety measures 24 hours after the accident.

The radiation level, which was 400 microroentgens per hour, has decreased to 160 at present. However, spots of contamination have been discovered on the ground with a level of up to 4000 microroentgen per hour.

An 8 km section of the Tomsk-Samus road remains the most polluted. The radiation level has decreased to 80 microroentgens per hour here. Deactivation specialists

wash passing vehicles with a special solution. The road is being cleared of snow, and a system of dams is being erected in order to prevent the contaminated area from expanding with water from melted snow.

At the installation itself—which, incidentally, continues operating—the aftereffects of the explosion are being eliminated. A commission of the Russian Committee for Emergency Situations has arrived in Tomsk-7. The radiation level in the city does not exceed the natural background.

Radiation Poses 'No Danger to Life'

PM0804161493 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[Lyudmila Dianova report: "Tomsk-7: No Danger to Life"]

[Text] The explosion at the Siberian Chemicals Combine three days ago remains one of the day's main topics. Experts from the Russian Federation Ministry of Atomic Energy, assessing the incident on the international seven-point scale, classified it as a "level 3 incident." This is the first major accident since Chernobyl to involve radioactive contamination of a locality.

We established direct contact with Tomsk-7.

Aleksandr Malanchuk, Siberian Chemicals Combine deputy chief responsible for emergencies:

"The damaged unit has now been sealed off [zakonservirovan]. Access to the enterprise's territory is strictly limited. Decontamination and restoration operations are going according to plan. At the moment we are managing with our own resources. I do not think this is a case where civil defense subunits need be brought in. All operations are proceeding under the supervision of the public health center. The people involved in eliminating the consequences of the accident have undergone medical investigation. A maximum total irradiation dose of 0.6 rems was received by the firemen who spent five minutes putting out the roofing felt of the building which caught fire as a result of the blast."

Sergey Gorev, senior specialist at the State Commission for Emergency Situations press service:

"The level of radiation does not exceed background radiation at any inhabited location, with the exception of the settlement of Georgiyevka. In Georgiyevka, where only 20 people live, instruments registered 35 microroentgens per hour. This level of radiation does not constitute a danger to life. The first stage of decontamination of a 3 km sector of road has been completed."

Anatoliy Merzlyakov, chairman of the Tomsk-7 Ecology Committee:

"An hour after the explosion wet snow began to fall, and continued until 2300 hours. This caused the radioactive aerosols to settle almost immediately on the adjacent

territory. Fortunately a northeasterly wind was blowing, driving the danger away from the city. Following helicopter surveys carried out with special equipment, no radioactive cloud was observed over the site of the accident. As for the contaminated territory over an area of 1,000 hectares, this is marshland and is not used for leisure purposes by the people of Tomsk."

Radioactive Cloud Stretches 100 Km

OW0904025493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0204 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of the press service of the Ministry of Atomic Energy of the Russian Federation has informed that, according to the data obtained from radiation surveillance, the radioactive "trail" from the explosion of a tank with radioactive wastes at the Siberian Tomsk-7 chemical plant stretches 100 kilometers beyond the boundaries of the industrial zone. The maximum width of the 30-microroentgen-per-hour "trail" is up to 9 kilometers. The maximum radiation level, in the center of the "trail" reads 400 microroentgen per hour, which is 20 times above normal. The "trail's" center is located in the midst of a wooded area.

The following data has been obtained as a result of verification of the situation at the Siberian chemical plant. There have been no casualties. The doses received by the personnel and the fire fighters who participated in the liquidation of the fire and its aftereffects did not exceed 0.5 rem, less than half the annual dose for the population and a tenth of the one admissible for people who have regular contact with radioactive materials.

The liquidation of the aftereffects of the explosion is being carried out by the employees of the Siberian chemical plant. The situation is quite secure. No trace of plutonium nor highly active isotopes was discovered.

'Breach' of Procedure Cited as Cause

LD0904044993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0330 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] As must be clear to all, the accident at the Siberian chemical combine is at the center of attention at the moment, and here is the latest news from there. The presumed reason for the accident is a breach of work procedures. That is the opinion of Viktor Vladimirov, deputy chairman of the Russian State Committee for Emergency Situations. I was just told this at the Russian Federation State Committee. At this time, the commission for investigating the causes of the catastrophe is looking at urgently setting up channels for snow thaw to flow away. Dosimetric control posts have also been set up. As we know, the commission is working around the clock, and today a group of experts from the Tayfun scientific production association in Obninsk has left for the accident zone. As part of the work to eliminate the

consequences of the incident, they will deal with problems connected with water contamination.

Atomic Energy Minister To Visit

LD0904091393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0851 GMT 9 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivantsov]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—Russian Atomic Energy Minister Viktor Mikhaylov will visit the Tomsk-7 enterprise where an accident recently occurred causing radioactive discharge. Mikhaylov is to arrive in Tomsk on April 15. He is to study the results of the work of the commission investigating the causes and consequences of the accident.

Before arrival in Tomsk Mikhaylov will pay a working visit to the Atomash plant in Rostov-on-Don which produces equipment for nuclear power enterprises, ITAR-TASS learned from spokesman of the ministry Georgiy Kaurov.

Mikhaylov is to report about the results of his visit to the place of the accident and conclusions made by the commission at a news conference in Moscow on April 20, Kaurov said.

'Plutonium Leakage' Concerns Ministry

LD0904104593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0956 GMT 9 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—"Experts of the Russian Ministry for Environment and Natural Resources are concerned about "the fate of plutonium contained in a tank with a mixture which exploded at the Siberian Tomsk-7 chemical plant," Russian Minister for Ecology Viktor Danilov-Danilyan told ITAR-TASS on Friday.

In order to check if there is any contamination caused by the plutonium leakage, a special commission from the Institute of Applied Ecology will leave for Tomsk on Saturday [10 April] to examine the area of the accident, the Russian minister said.

"The fate of plutonium is the main concern, but it is not the only one. We must see everything for ourselves and lay our fingers on everything," the minister said.

During a six-day examination a group of experts will assess the radioactive situation in the area of the accident. A helicopter provided with special equipment will be at the commission's disposal to take pictures of the affected territory from an altitude of 100 meters. The data obtained will be used for drawing a chart of the spread of the radioactive contamination. A more thorough examination of the area is expected to be made by the Ministry of the Environment in summer time.

On Friday, the Ministry of the Environment has asked the government to allocate 7 million roubles for a primary examination and 30 million roubles for subsequent operations.

Further on Cause of Blast

OW0904102293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1013
GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A preliminary report has said that the blast at the chemical complex in Tomsk-7 was due to neglect for technological procedures to halt a line for radiochemical processing of nuclear fuel for repair.

As a result, a chemical exothermic reaction rapidly developed in a 300-cubic meter holder that contained a discharged solution with the products of nuclear fission and traces of uranium and plutonium.

As a result of the explosion, part of the building was wrecked and radioactive pollutants were discharged. A special commission is working to find out the concrete cause of the accident and who is to blame for it.

Radiation in Surrounding Areas Viewed

LD0904105793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1043
GMT 9 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—No radioactive cloud is moving towards Krasnoyarsk. The radiation level in Tomsk is within the limits of the natural background, amounting to only 12-16 microroentgens an hour, ITAR-TASS was told at the press centre of the Russian Hydrometeorological Service (Rozgidromet).

A trace of radioactive contamination, left after the accident at the Tomsk-7 chemical complex in Siberia, was found on a stretch of the Tomsk-Samus motor road (from 28 kilometres 100 metres to 29 kilometres). The highest dose was recorded on the 28 kilometres 660 metres stretch, where the axis of the trace lies. This is 10-11 kilometres to the northeast of the explosion's epicentre.

There are three settlements near the trace—Naumovka, Georgiyevka and Bobrovka. An aerogammic survey has confirmed the presence of a radioactive trace to the north of Georgiyevka. The radiation level there amounts to 28 microroentgens an hour, which is approximately 100 per cent higher than the natural background. The radiation level in Naumovka is within the limits of the natural background. The radiological situation in Bobrovka is being verified.

The Rozgidromet control system has not recorded any heightened radiation in other towns and villages of Tomsk region, let alone Novosibirsk, Kemerovo regions

and Krasnoyarsk territory. Checks of the radiological situation are being conducted at short intervals.

According to information received from Georgiy Kaurav, chief of the information department of the Russian Ministry for Nuclear Energetics, the isotope composition of surface pollution in areas adjoining the Tomsk radiochemical plant includes several heavy metals, among them zirconium-95, niobium-95, ruthenium-103, and ruthenium-109.

The Tomsk-7 industrial sanitary inspection claims that no plutonium-239, which is most dangerous for human health, has been discovered in the ejections, but the search for it is being continued. Kaurav said that this involves a rather difficult and long procedure.

"According to verified data," he continued, "the radioactive trace is seven kilometres long on the territory of the enterprise and ten kilometres long outside it. The contaminated territory equals to 35 square kilometres. The trace covers a 300 metres stretch of the Samusk-Tomsk motor road. After deactivation measures, the contamination level on the motor road has dropped to 100 microroentgens an hour. Vehicles moving on the road are not threatened by any radioactive contamination."

The village of Gavrilovka, inhabited by 20 people, stands on the very fringe of the trace. The background there reaches in some places 30 microroentgens, which is 100 per cent higher than the usual norm, but does not pose any danger to human health.

Sakhalin Governor Fedorov 'Dismissed' by Yeltsin

OW0804223493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2116
GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin issued a decree on Thursday [8 April] by which he dismissed Boris Fedorov from the post of the Head of the Sakhalin area Administration "due to his transition to another post," informs the presidential press service. By the same decree E. Krasnoyarsov has been appointed to replace him.

E. Krasnoyarsov is 54 and prior to his nomination worked as General Director of the Soviet-Japanese "Pilenga-Godo" joint venture.

The previous Governor of Sakhalin B. Fedorov, a Doctor of Economics who arrived to the Far East from Moscow, has been criticized by the representative bodies of the area. The Sakhalin deputies accused him of incompetent management that they believe has led to a drop in industrial output and above-average price increases.

Polls administered at more than 100 enterprises of the area have shown B. Fedorov to be unpopular among their employees because of his socioeconomic policy.

A hardliner in the South-Kurils dispute, B. Fedorov, in the capacity of head of the administration, categorically objected to turning the islands of Shikotan, Iturup, Habomai and Kunashir over to Japan.

Missile Maneuvers Held Near Chinese Border

LD0804231193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Far Eastern Military District is studying the experience of the demonstration training maneuvers [uchebno-pokazatelnyye manevry] by rocket troops that were held a few days ago in the territory of the Jewish Autonomous Oblast. A correspondent of the POST-FACTUM agency managed to learn interesting details about this. He reports that operations involving nuclear operational-tactical missiles in a possible Russian-Chinese theater of hostilities were practised. The maneuvers took place 80 km from the Chinese border. This was a POSTFACTUM report.

Troops To Remain in Ossetia To Stall 'Spring Offensive'

LD0804183093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1808 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz April 8 TASS—Russian troops will remain in the zone of Ossetian-Ingushi conflict as long as it is necessary to ensure full stability in the region and will not allow the predicted "spring offensive" in the zone, according to Yuriy Shatalin, head of the temporary administration in North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

He denied reports that Russian troops are withdrawn from the region. It is a regrouping of forces and a change of personnel, Shatalin told a press conference on Thursday [8 April].

The situation in the conflict zone is rather quiet, however the growing crime is the main concern for the authorities. The population has some 150,000 firearms, he said.

Another problem is that hostages have not been exchanged for five months already. Shatalin said that both North Ossetians and Ingushis trade in hostages demanding 3-5 million roubles for a person.

He called on the Russian authorities to remember that Cossacks also live in the conflict zone and that their families had suffered a lot. Russia earmarked to Ossetians and Ingushis 18 billion roubles to eliminate the consequences of the conflict, but Cossacks received nothing, although many of them were killed and thousands of families became refugees.

However, Shatalin added that Cossacks have no problems with Ossetians and live in peace together.

N. Ossetia Not To Conduct Survey on Linking With Ingush

OW0904105293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1014 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliamentary presidium of North Ossetia has decided not to conduct, along with the referendum on April 25, a survey on the possibility of further cohabitation with the Ingush. A proposal to conduct such a survey was discussed at a session of the presidium on Thursday [8 April], but the idea was rejected in order to avoid further complication of the social and political situation in the republic.

Stanislav Kesayev, a member of the parliamentary presidium, said in an interview with INTERFAX on Friday [9 April] that conducting such a survey would be incompetent from a legal stance, since North Ossetia had no law on referendums.

Ingush President Concerned About Forces in Prigorodnyy

LD0804175993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Apr 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In a telephone conversation with Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian parliament, Ingush President Ruslan Aushev expressed concern over the unsatisfactory, in his opinion, work of the Russian provisional administration in the zone of the state of emergency. According to him, Ossetian armed formations are still operating in Prigorodnyy rayon in North Ossetia.

Constitutional Court Deputy Chairman on Moscow's Status

MK0804115493 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 7 Apr 93 p 4

[Interview with Nikolay Vitruk, Russian Federation Constitutional Court deputy chairman, by Konstantin Katanyan; place and date not given: "A 'Bomb' Under the Capital?"]

[Text] The Constitutional Court's decision on the "Moscow case" has proved to be just as complicated as the situation in the capital itself. Therefore we asked Nikolay Vitruk, deputy chairman of the Constitutional Court, for an explanation.

[Katanyan] Your colleagues contradict each other when they comment on the Court's decision bearing on the terms of reference of the capital's power and administration bodies. Why?

[Vitruk] The complexity of this problem lies in the fact that Moscow is not just a regional center but a state capital. In world practice a capital has a special status.

Up to now, however, Moscow's status has not been legally defined. At the same time old regulations and presidential edicts now in effect are not always in tune with each other. This complicates the work of all power and administration bodies.

Therefore the court was faced with a very difficult task—to take a long-term view, trying to anticipate a would-be law on the capital's status, and at the same time pass a proper judgment as to whether the present state of affairs corresponds to the Russian Federation Constitution. This is why many provisions of our decision are so formulated as to create a theory-based construction, as it were, for the administration of Moscow.

[Katanyan] Do I understand you right, that the court has deemed unconstitutional all the norms that limited the authority of the Moscow power bodies as that of a city under federal jurisdiction. And at the same time the Moscow City Soviet [Mossovet] continues to deal with matters that are made incumbent on the local self-government bodies.

[Vitruk] You are right, although these functions are very hard to separate in practical terms. And this is why our decision is a kind of guideline for the lawmaker who is working out a law on the capital's status, as well as for Mossovet, which should accelerate its work on the city charter.

[Katanyan] But some time in the past it was decided to conduct a so-called state-legal experiment in Moscow.

[Vitruk] Indeed, I tried to find out about the fate of this experiment from the judge who made the report. However, he sought to convince me that this is simply a journalistic term and that there is no such notion as "experiment" in any of the normative acts.

[Katanyan] Well, what happens next? Mossovet Chairman N. Gonchar told me, for instance, that the Constitutional Court's decision does not mean an immediate overhaul of the administrative structures and the restoration of rayispolkoms [rayon executive committees].

[Vitruk] He is absolutely correct. This is really so. Our decree in no way gives grounds for abolishing the existing structures. In adopting a city charter, Mossovet is entitled to determine which administrative-territorial division pattern is the most rational for Moscow: rayons or okrugs.

[Katanyan] But the court's decision may be retroactive....

[Vitruk] Yes. And we discussed this problem. But we came to the conclusion that that decision would directly affect Muscovites' rights. And for us the priority of human rights will remain the supreme criterion in passing a judgment. We could not allow for all contracts, agreements, and deeds (for instance on privatization of apartments) to become null and void, so that millions of

Muscovites would start having doubts that the documents had been properly processed and executed. Neither our decree nor the decision of any power bodies may impair the situation of Russian Federation citizens.

At the same time our decree provides grounds for revising those decisions that were taken in obvious abuse of law.

Moscow Allocates Funds for Referendum, Regions Lagging

MK0804140693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 7 Apr 93 p 11

["Politics Desk" report: "Authorities Before the Referendum. Regions' Positions Still Undefined"]

[Text] Yesterday, the Moscow government obliged the department of finances to determine the source of finance for the referendum. Thus Moscow becomes the first city in Russia to have determined its degree of financial participation in the April referendum. The capital city is prepared to spend on it more than 600 million rubles [R] from the municipal budget given that the designated federal outlay is R20 billion.

Other regions in Russia, however, show no such zeal in regard to the upcoming voting

Observers believe that the metropolis' zeal is largely explained by the pro-president stance of the city administration. One can assume that having allocated the money, the capital city has thereby expressed its attitude to the questions put to the referendum.

A different process is under way in the autonomous entities of Russia: Preparations for 25 April have not reached the stage where money is to be appropriated. For example, in Bashkortostan, contrary to the Ninth Congress decree that confirmed the four questions to be included in the referendum, it has been decided to include an additional question on the ballot. The republic's Supreme Soviet proposes that republic's residents answer the question: "Do you agree that the Republic of Bashkortostan should have economic independence and relations with the Russian Federation based on the Federation Treaty, and on the appendix to it, in the interests of all the peoples of Bashkortostan?" Meanwhile, back at the Eighth Congress, one of the key arguments of opponents of the referendum proposed by Yeltsin was a possible disintegration of the federation should the regions conduct their own voting on lesser dependence upon the Center in addition to the all-Russia voting.

Unlike Bashkortostan, the Republic of Sakha stays with Russia. According to latest reports, the republic's authorities are not going to violate the Congress decree by asking voters to answer some other questions. The question of the referendum does not feature at all so far at the

Supreme Soviet session in Karelia. The regions, however, still have enough time to make decisions on the referendum.

Muscovites Polled on Sympathies for Political Movements

MK0904081693 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETs in Russian 9 Apr 93 p 2

[Oleg Savelyev report under "Nonstop" rubric: "Muscovites' Political Sympathies"]

[Text] At the beginning of April 1993 the "GFK-Moskva" Institute of Marketing and Social Studies conducted a telephone poll of 1,000 capital residents under the direction of Sergey Kolobanov.

Within the framework of this study an attempt was made to ascertain how the main contemporary political movements and blocs have been reflected in Muscovites' mass consciousness. It should be pointed out that this division into blocs and movements is highly arbitrary. Not even political scientists are now able to define clearly the composition, ideology, and boundaries of these political communities. Therefore the cited data should not be viewed as an irreproachable scientific study but merely as a preliminary sounding out of public opinion at the level of the most general sympathies and antipathies.

The following distribution of replies, in percentages, was received from ordinary Muscovites (not experts) to the question, "Which political bloc (movement) from among those listed below do you trust or at least sympathize with: 'Civic Union,' 'Democratic Russia-Democratic Choice,' or the 'National Salvation Front'?"

Civic Union	6
Democratic Russia-Democratic Choice	25
National Salvation Front	6
Hard to say	63

Students, those attending school, working people in the nonstate sphere of the economy, and, as a whole, men, persons under 30 years old, and those with high per capita incomes (over 25,000 rubles [R]) reported their trust in, or at least sympathies with, "Civic Union" relatively more frequently than others.

Among supporters of "Democratic Russia-Democratic Choice" there were relatively more employees, school pupils, students, and, as a whole, women polled between the ages of 45 and 61 and with average income (R10,000-15,000 per family member).

Relatively more supporters of the "National Salvation Front" were recorded among unskilled workers, pensioners, and, as a whole, among men (three times as many men as women!), persons aged between 45 and 61 years and with average-to-high income (R15,000-25,000).

Republics' Reactions to Referendum Summarized

OW0804115093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1118 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] All Government Bodies in Kabardino-Balkaria Favor Referendum

Kabardino-Balkaria has decided to promote the organization of the referendum on April 25 throughout the republic. Deputy speaker of the local parliament Mukharbi Ulbashev told Interfax the decision had been made on Wednesday [7 April] at a conference of legislators and government officials at all levels. He said there would be no propaganda campaign and the leadership of the republic would do its utmost to prevent the referendum from exerting a negative influence on the political situation in the republic.

Ulbashev said no local questions would be added to the list, though the conference discussed the possibility. For a long time the local leadership has been planning a referendum on the unity and integrity of Kabardino-Balkaria.

Aushev: Everyone Will Vote According to Their Convictions

The President of Ingushetia has spoken in favor of organizing the April 25 referendum in his republic. According to his press secretary, Ruslan Aushev thinks everyone should vote. Even so there will be no propaganda campaign in the republic and each citizen will vote according to his convictions.

Public in Adygeya Indifferent to Referendum

Preparations for the referendum on April 25 are under way in Adygeya. Polling stations have been set up, but the most typical attitude to the coming event was one of indifference, according to Adam Tleush, the speaker of the local parliament. He added that the local leadership did not intend to add more questions to the list.

When asked whether the referendum could complicate the political situation in the republic Tleush said: "In any case it cannot improve it and it is impossible to foresee the consequences".

South Ossetian Leader Says Population of South Ossetia Would Like To Take Part in Referendum

"We are inspired by the hope to be admitted to Russia, although Russia seems indifferent to such a prospect," stated Torez Kulumbegov, the chairman of the South Ossetian parliament. He told Interfax on Thursday that South Ossetia supported the referendum and that the population "would be happy to take part in it". "However, Russia has not yet recognized South Ossetia's sovereignty," he pointed out.

Kulumbegov expressed the hope that the Russian parliament would consider this issue soon.

International Affairs

Rukh Official Warns U.S. Against Disarmament Pressure

WS0804130593 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian
31 Mar 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Negotiations or Ultimatum?"]

[Text] Oleksandr Lavrynovych, deputy chairman of the Rukh, commented for the RUKH-PRESS on a statement made by the U.S. President on 25 March. After his meeting with the Ukrainian foreign minister, Anatoliy Zlenko, Bill Clinton called the ratification of the START Treaty by Ukraine a "precondition for the long-term and successful relations." "If the U.S. President ventures to speak in the language of an ultimatum, one can hardly consider his negotiations with the Ukrainian foreign minister successful," noted the Rukh's deputy chairman. "The language of ultimatum has never been a good foundation for the development of relations on a partnership basis."

Oleksandr Lavrynovych is convinced that the nuclear disarmament in Ukraine should be carried out at the expense of an international fund established by nuclear powers. Obviously, they should provide security guarantees and inviolability of the Ukrainian borders. "Ukraine assumed no international obligations concerning the destruction of its nuclear weapons," stated Oleksandr Lavrynovych.

On supporting Ukraine's intention to acquire a nuclear-free status in the future, included in the Declaration of Independence, the Rukh's deputy chairman expressed his reservations. "In my view, the process leading to this status should be accompanied by general disarmament and good-neighborly relations with all the countries, when no country would lay claims to the Ukrainian territory and attempt to impose its will on Ukraine, as unfortunately is the case at present," concluded Oleksandr Lavrynovych, deputy chairman of the Rukh.

Cabinet Explains Nuclear Stance

AU0904110693 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian
7 Apr 93 pp 1, 10

[Statement issued by the Cabinet of Ministers press service in Kiev; date not given]

[Text] In connection with the statement by the Russian Government concerning the nuclear weapons on the territory of Ukraine that was made public on 5 April, the Press Service of Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers is authorized to state the following.

Unfortunately, the Russian side again resorted to distorting Ukraine's position and to advancing ungrounded accusations against it. This makes it necessary to additionally expound Ukraine's attitude to the question.

Contrary to the assertions by the Russian Government, the Ukrainian leadership has, so far, made no statements that might indicate its departure from the intention proclaimed by Ukraine's Supreme Council to acquire nuclear-free status in the future.

As is known, this question is presently being discussed by the Ukrainian parliament, which is conducting a comprehensive analysis.

Ukraine is against turning this extremely serious problem into a subject of political games. It is worth recalling that on 31 March 1993, the Ukrainian side, in order to prevent speculation about the safety of nuclear weapons on the territory of Ukraine, proposed that the question be considered of inviting an authoritative international commission.

As one of the successors to the former USSR and in accordance with Ukraine's law "On Enterprises, Institutions, and Organizations of Union Jurisdiction That Are Situated on the Territory of Ukraine" issued on 10 September 1991, Ukraine confirms its right of ownership of nuclear components of weapons and not of nuclear weapons that are located on its territory, including the tactical weapons that were transferred to Russia earlier. As is known, according to the Minsk agreement of 30 December 1991, the nuclear weapons deployed on Ukraine's territory are operationally subordinated to the Joint Command of the CIS Strategic Forces and, therefore, there are no grounds for changing this status.

This position does not signify that Ukraine intends to gain control over nuclear warheads. Ukraine, only possessing components of strategic nuclear weapons of the former USSR, has no possibility of unilaterally using these weapons, because elements of their control systems are outside its territory. Nor does Ukraine have any intention of securing such a possibility.

The actual timetable for withdrawing nuclear weapons from the territory of Ukraine for the purpose of their dismantling and destruction will be determined by a whole number of factors and, not least, by the completion of corresponding negotiations between Ukraine and Russia and the conclusion of agreements that will enable the elimination of nuclear weapons located in Ukraine.

Even though the Joint Command of the CIS Strategic Forces retains the functions of operational control over strategic forces on the territory of Ukraine, the administrative control over them was transferred to Ukraine's Ministry of Defense, something that is in no way contradictory to the task of ensuring single and reliable control over nuclear weapons. Nothing in the concept of administrative control over the troops of strategic nuclear forces stationed in Ukraine gives reason to suspect that Ukraine intends to gain direct control over nuclear weapons.

Guided by principle, Ukraine cannot agree to having foreign troops stationed on its territory, a situation that

may arise if the Russian Federation's jurisdiction is proclaimed over the nuclear weapons located in Ukraine.

If the main parts of the missiles located in Ukraine are disconnected without dismantling the missiles proper, this will not ensure adherence to the demands of the physical and ecological safety of the missile complexes. All procedures for destroying nuclear weapons must be made in a clearly determined sequence, proceeding from legal, technical, financial, organizational, and other considerations.

Thus, Ukraine's attitude toward resolving complex problems associated with the presence of nuclear weapons on its territory is serious and rational, and the country adheres to the current agreements on corresponding questions without violating any of them.

Ukraine welcomes Russia's readiness to provide additional security guarantees. The main task now is to endow these guarantees with a corresponding structure, status, and scope. We are also pleased with Russia's readiness to resolve questions of compensation for the nuclear materials that are Ukraine's property. We understand this readiness as also extending to components of the tactical nuclear weapons that were withdrawn earlier.

Ukraine attaches particular significance to ensuring the safety of nuclear weapons, has always tried to create all necessary conditions for this, and is ready to continue to fully cooperate with the Russian side on the aforementioned questions.

Ukraine calls upon the Russian side to the bilateral negotiations to occupy a more constructive and realistic position in resolving these problems. We are interested in resolving all complicated questions of Ukrainian and Russian cooperation in the cause of the destruction of nuclear weapons located in Ukraine without unnecessary polemics or mutual accusations. The language of ultimatums and pressure is not an acceptable form of relations between states.

Right Claimed to Nuclear 'Components,' Not Warheads

OW0904103493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1013 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk has sent Russia's President Boris Yeltsin proposals on how to break the deadlock at the talks on nuclear weapons in Ukraine. This was reported at a briefing on 8 April by Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Tarasyuk, the chairman of the National Disarmament Committee.

He blamed "the absence of a smooth dialogue at the talks on the position of the Russian side, suggesting that negotiations can be resumed only after the Ukrainian

parliament ratifies START-1 and Ukraine joins the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty".

"Ukraine claims nuclear arms components rather than warheads", Tarasyuk said and stressed that "Ukrainian officials have repeatedly declared that one condition for the pullout of nuclear weapons could be a compensation for the nuclear elements contained in warheads" (the prime minister Leonid Kuchma estimates such compensation at \$2 Bn [billion]).

National Committee on Disarmament Holds First Session

LD0804185693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] The first sitting of the National Committee of Ukraine on issues of Disarmament has been held. Its basic tasks are the inter-departmental coordination of work with regard to defining the directions of Ukraine's foreign political activity in the field of international security, and control over disarmament and the implementation of obligations undertaken by our state in these spheres. Borys Tarasyuk, head of the committee and deputy foreign minister, stressed the necessity of adjusting corresponding actions of all Ukrainian institutions with the purpose of guaranteeing the interests of national security. In particular, he stressed that as of today such an agreement has not yet been reached and this has led to some undesirable results for our state. The committee is charged with resolving issues with regard to implementing agreements in the area of reducing conventional armed forces, Ukraine's participation in international organizations and forums for issues of control over armament and disarmament and the strengthening of trust and security. Among these problems an important place will be taken up by issues of Ukraine's nuclear policy.

Russian, Ukrainian, U.S. Experts To Ensure Nuclear Safety

AU0904090793 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 6 Apr 93 p 4

[Report by Zhofef Shapoval, employee at the Scientific and Technological Center for Nuclear and Radiation Safety of Ukraine's Committee for Atomic Supervision: "Five Years Ahead"]

[Text] **Leading experts of the Commission for Nuclear Regulation and of the U.S. Ministry of Power Engineering, on the one hand, and leaders of Ukraine's State Atomic Supervision Committee and of the State Committee for Atomic Energy have set priorities for future cooperation in the sphere of improving the safety of atomic power engineering.**

The concluding protocol of the fifth session of the Joint Coordination Committee for Safety of Civilian Nuclear Reactors that has just ended in Kiev is also signed by top representatives of corresponding state structures of the

Russian Federation. Thus, Russia and Ukraine decided to extend for another five years the Agreement on Scientific and Technological Cooperation in the Sphere of Peaceful Utilization of Atomic Energy and its constituent part—the Memorandum on the Cooperation in Ensuring Safe Operation of Civilian Nuclear Reactors that expires at the end of April 1993.

New agreements enable the sides to get the best out of the international scientific and technological cooperation.

In particular, Ukraine will be given the necessary assistance in licensing atomic electric power plants and analyzing the safety of their exploitation on the basis of computer codes, as well as in elaborating inspection procedures and special programs for handling radioactive waste and used nuclear fuel, utilizing radio isotope sources in industry and medicine, ensuring the safe transportation of radioactive materials, and so on.

Of great importance will be the creation of a crisis center to supervise actions in emergency situations at atomic plants and the organization of Ukrainian specialists' training at modern analytical simulators and their advanced training at the U.S. Commission for Nuclear Regulation, as well as in scientific research centers and laboratories.

There is every reason to hope that the program for cooperation that has been coordinated will be fulfilled, because the American Agency for International Development has allocated special financial funds for its practical implementation.

The next meeting of the Joint Coordination Committee will be held in Moscow.

NATO Commander Holds Kiev Press Conference

LD0804211693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1955 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Nikolay Zaika—TASS]

[Text] Kiev April 8 TASS—The nuclear weapons proliferation problem worries the NATO leadership, General Henning von Ondarza, supreme allied commander of NATO's forces in Central Europe, told a press conference here on Thursday. He leads a NATO delegation that visited Kiev at the invitation of Ukrainian Defence Minister Konstantin Morozov.

It is essential to take the road of nuclear arms reductions, as Ukraine has done, Henning von Ondarza said. At the same time when asked whether the leadership of NATO is prepared to provide security guarantees to Ukraine if it eliminates nuclear weapons deployed on its territory, he said this is a political issue which must be tackled by politicians, not the military.

Colonel General Ivan Bizhan, Ukrainian deputy defence minister, told the press conference that matters concerning Ukraine's military doctrine and the building of its armed forces were discussed during the NATO delegation's visit.

Touching upon the latest government statements of Ukraine and Russia about nuclear weapons, Bizhan said Ukraine is prepared for participation of any international agencies in efforts to resolve the problem. At the same time the Ukrainian general maintained that Russia "artificially creates difficulties in ensuring the nuclear and ecological security of the strategic nuclear forces stationed on the territory of Ukraine."

Minister on Results of NATO Delegation's Visit

LD0804183793 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] Lieutenant General Henning von Ondarza, commander in chief of NATO Allied Forces in Central Europe, was on an official visit to Kiev from 6 to 8 April. A joint news conference was held today by the high-ranking guest and Colonel General Ivan Bizhan, Ukrainian deputy defense minister.

[Unidentified correspondent] At the beginning of the news conference, Col. Gen. Ivan Bizhan, Ukrainian deputy defense minister, said:

[Begin Bizhan recording] During the course of this visit, the commander in chief had meetings with the defense minister and other officials of the Defense Ministry. Apart from this, we had a roundtable, as it were, where we exchanged opinions. Summing it up—or rather, speaking in general about what was looked at—I would say that issues of common interest were examined.

Gen. Henning von Ondarza acknowledged that the program during his stay in Ukraine had been quite productive. In his words, those in command of the Armed Forces of our state today clearly realize that peace and stability in Europe are out of the question if contacts between the servicemen of Ukraine and NATO are not intensified.

On the issue of Ukraine's nuclear future, the general set forth his vision of this problem. This issue is political, and the government of each specific country alone has the right to decide what kind of armed forces it needs in order to guarantee external security, he stressed.

Both Ukraine and the NATO states must follow the path of reducing nuclear potential. The main thing here is constant verification and mutual trust. [end recording]

Kuchma To Visit Gulf States 10-20 Apr

OW0804114193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1119 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On April 10, a Ukrainian governmental delegation led by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma will begin a 10-day tour of the Gulf states. The Ukrainian Cabinet's press service informed Interfax that the delegation would visit Oman, Qatar, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain. With the leaders of these countries Kuchma will discuss oil supplies to Ukraine and, possibly, Ukrainian arms supplies to those states.

Kravchuk Receives Romanian Delegation

*LD0804173193 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya
Network in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 7 Apr 93*

[Text] The official visit to Ukraine by the Romanian parliamentary delegation, headed by Adrian Nastase, president of the Assembly of Deputies, is continuing.

Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine, received the Romanian parliamentarians today. During a discussion of principles of inter-state relations the president of Ukraine and the head of the Assembly of Deputies of Romania's parliament were in agreement that unfortunately the great potential of many-sided bilateral cooperation currently remains unrealized, and they spoke in favor of developing it constructively. Problems of Ukrainians living in Romania, and Romanians living in Ukraine, were raised during the course of the meeting, and so were the prospects of resolving them.

At the request of Adrian Nastase, Leonid Kravchuk explained the essence of his initiative to set up a security zone in Central and Eastern Europe, and confirmed Ukraine's desire to hold an international conference on this issue in Ukraine in the autumn of this year with the participation of Romania.

Vasyl Durdynets, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, Dmytro Pavlychko, chairman of the commission of the Supreme Council for foreign affairs, George Marin, Romania's interim charge d'affaires in Ukraine, and other officials, took part in the meeting.

During a meeting between Viktor Pynzenyk, vice prime minister, and the Romanian parliamentarians, the sides exchanged information on the economic situation in both countries, noting the similarity of existing problems, and expressed mutual interest in renewing disrupted bilateral economic ties. Specific aspects of Ukrainian-Romanian cooperation were discussed, in particular participation by Romanian enterprises in building the Dolinsk metallurgical combine, and utilizing oil terminals at Costanta to deliver oil to Ukraine.

Accords were reached during the conversation on setting up an inter-governmental commission, which will prepare in the near future a bilateral agreement on trade and economic cooperation for 1993, and an agreement on mutual protection of investments. Other aspects of economic cooperation between the two neighbouring states were also discussed during the conversation.

Romania's Nastase Reviews Visit

*AU0904065693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1650
GMT 8 Apr 93*

[Text] Kiev (ROMPRES) 8/4/1993—At the end of the Romanian delegation's visit to Kiev the head of the delegation, Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, told the press about the significance and results of the diplomatic demarch in neighboring Ukraine.

Romania, he said, increasingly tends towards a foreign policy oriented towards all cardinal points. The current visit is part of an expanding process of redefining Romania's options and stands in the Balkans, towards the West and towards the space of former USSR.

In that context the visit meant inter alia to: Clearly define Romania's position in relation to Ukraine, support the latter in consolidating its independence and sovereignty as a state, boost economic relations, introduce a pragmatic, constructive approach to the "sensitive" problems generated by the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, help the Romanians in Ukraine who "are neither forgotten nor abandoned," assert the idea of "special, privileged" relations between the two states.

Adrian Nastase opined that the visit "must contribute to the creation of the political and psychological frame for a boost in bilateral relations and a better clarification and understanding of stands on certain 'sensitive' topics." "We find the distinction made in Ukraine between Moldovans and Romanians as artificial and false, because if there are two citizenships there is nonetheless a single ethnos," Mr. Nastase concluded.

Thursday afternoon the Romanian parliamentary delegation arrived in the town of Cernauti [Chernovtsy], in Northern Bukovina.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Presides Over Defense Council Sitting

*LD0804060893 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya
Network in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 7 Apr 93*

[Text] A sitting of the Defense Council was held today. It was presided over by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. Participants in the sitting examined the issue of the technical support of the armed forces and other military force elements of our state, as well as the course of negotiations between Ukrainian and Russian state delegations on the division of the Black Sea Fleet.

Decisions corresponding to the issues discussed were adopted.

Kravchuk, Others Discuss Draft Budget in Parliament

OW0704122593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1022 GMT 7 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has said that the draft 1993 budget reflected the current economic situation, but did not meet even the minimal needs of the republic. However he told parliament Tuesday [6 April] that the draft incorporated a number of positive provisions, such as anti-inflationary measures and a common approach to the taxation policy in relation to all kinds of enterprises. Besides that, the draft gave support to the new methods of running the economy.

After hearing the criticism of the privatization program expressed by some of the deputies, the president categorically rejected the idea of suspending privatization. "To suspend privatization is to suspend reform," he said.

Chairman of the Planning, Budget, Finance and Pricing Commission Andrey Pecherov said that excessive deficit was the main drawback of the draft. Given the current rate of inflation (during the past two months it stood at 274%), prices would rise 10 times, not 4.6 times as the draft said, Pecherov remarked. Consequently, the indices of the gross national product and of the revenues and spending would be different, he added.

He also said that privatization was the main means of covering the deficit. At the same time he sharply criticized the situation whereby objects offered for sale at auctions were being privatized for sums which the state might gain by leasing them out for a year. Pecherov also said that the deficit may be diminished if VAT [value-added tax] was increased from 20% to 28%, if the land rent was increased 30 times and if tax concessions were reduced sharply.

Finance Minister Hrihoriy Pyatachenko announced that, according to verified figures, in 1993 the budget deficit would amount to 7.5% of the gross national product, which was half the figure calculated earlier.

The draft budget approved by the Cabinet on March 18 said that, with a gross national product of 13.6 Tn [trillion] karbovantsy, revenues would total 7 Tn karbovantsy and spending 9.1 Tn karbovantsy. After further analysis the government estimated the gross national product at 15.8 Tn karbovantsy, revenues at 8.1 Tn and spending at 9.2 Tn.

According to the final draft, more than 50% of expenditure will go on social programs, mostly to social benefits, education, culture and health care.

Kuchma Foresees Economic Decline

OW0904102993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1014 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma believes the economic situation in the republic will get worse in the wake of a new increase in oil and gas prices planned by Russia from April 15. To purchase oil at world prices will cost the republic \$5 Bn [billion] and gas—\$8 Bn, the premier declared in Parliament at the end of a debate on the draft budget and planning for 1993.

In his words, the trade deficit with Russia amounted to 2 Trn [trillion] Karbovantsy.

He said that the government had managed to slow down the pace of production decline and price increases significantly and stabilize the karbovanets. However, he said, external rather than internal factors were crucial to the republic's economy. He stressed that closer economic links with Russia had brought about the import of inflation.

"The disintegration of the former Soviet economy has entered its final stage", Kuchma declared.

He predicted further social unrest in the republic: "It is now impossible to keep social security at the level maintained under socialism at the expense of raw materials and resources from Russia", he said.

The Ukrainian premier voiced anxiety over the fact that despite the shortage of fossil fuels, energy-intensive production continued to grow. Although the extraction of iron ore rose by 5 percent, steel output fell by 10 percent in 1992.

In his words, this imbalance can be corrected by restoring administrative control and introducing market methods to stimulate production.

A total of 210 deputies voted for the draft budget in Parliament on Thursday [8 April]. A total of 217 votes were required for endorsement. A new vote is expected to take place Friday [9 April].

Promises More Help for Private Farmers

LD0804193393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 7 Apr 93

[Text] A meeting between Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma and representatives from a number of oblast and rayon farming associations, which took place at their request on 7 April in Kiev, was dedicated to the problems of developing private farms. In the course of the conversation, there was an exchange of opinions on material and technical issues, fuel and lubricants, and the provision of land to farms.

Participants at the meeting expressed support for forming a land stock for farmers, because local councils practically do not allow farmers onto the land reserve. In their opinion, the executive power should undertake land division.

Representatives of the association requested the prime minister to speed up the elaboration of a comprehensive state program for developing farms and also to grant them credit on favorable terms. Kuchma gave assurances to the farmers that the government will consider their proposals.

New ICBM Tests Set for 1994

MK0804140293 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 8 Apr 93 p 2

[POSTFACTUM report under the rubric "Information To Reflect On"]

[Text] Moscow—According to information received from a trustworthy source, the Moscow Thermo-Engineering Institute founded by Academician A.N. Nadiradze and the Dnepropetrovsk "Yuzhnoye" science and production association founded by Academician M.K. Yangel are developing a new multipurpose inter-continental ballistic missile. The compilation of the manufacturing plan [rabocheye proyektirovaniye] is drawing to a close and flight tests will begin in 1994. Some experts believe that this development is being managed and financed as part of the effort to realize the programs adopted in the former USSR within the scope of the unified state military industrial complex.

Cabinet Promises To Assist All Oil Suppliers

AU0804122993 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 6 Apr 93 p 2

[Statement issued by the Cabinet of Ministers press service in Kiev; date not given: "The Government Will Assist Any Suppliers of Oil"]

[Text] Extensive rumors about the government's tough policy regarding those commercial structures that are engaged in delivering oil and petroleum products to Ukraine have been circulated recently.

They do not reflect reality.

The Ukraine Government supports all offers to deliver oil and petroleum products to Ukraine. Ukraine's oil refineries are capable of processing and transporting any proposed amounts of petroleum products.

Crimean Parliament Head on Referendum, Supreme Soviet

MK0804104493 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLET in Russian 7 Apr 93 p 2

[Interview with Crimean Supreme Soviet chairman Nikolay Bagrov and commentary by Aleksey Bogomolov: "The Master. Conversation on a Bad Line"]

[Text] Nikolay Vasiliyevich Bagrov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Crimea, hates to leave his long-occupied place. Even in the spring of 1991, when he combined the top party and state posts in the Crimean Oblast, he somehow divined that there was something wrong with the CPSU, so he quit his first secretaryship but retained the possession of his office in the city's main administrative building. Despite the fact that since then nearly two years have elapsed that were filled with shakeups, "momentous" decisions, rallies, sessions, and conferences, Bagrov is still looking down on the capital of Crimea from the height of his sixth floor. The sixth and the last floor.... [Interview begins] [Bogomolov] Nikolay Vasiliyevich, the Supreme Soviet of Crimea has decided to impose a moratorium on a referendum to determine Crimea's status. Can this ban be revoked?

[Bagrov] I approach the referendum in a very responsible manner, and regard it as a sharp weapon that should be used only on an extreme and absolutely necessary occasion.

What would be next? This is for the Supreme Soviet to decide; this will be decided by Crimeans themselves.

[Bogomolov] This means there will be a referendum on whether to hold the referendum or not?

[Bagrov] We are discussing serious matters, and I am telling you once again that I see no need to hold any referendum. The Supreme Soviet will decide everything.

[Bogomolov] Your political opponents, and ordinary Crimeans I happened to talk with, complained about the Supreme Soviet, saying that it works little, convenes for sessions on rare occasions, sits for a day or two and thus drags out the passing of laws vital for the republic....

[Bagrov] One has to distinguish between the Supreme Soviets of Russia or Ukraine, and of Crimea. There are rather substantial differences in the functioning of these structures, and, I would say, the most important thing is not the number of days a parliament sits, but its efficiency.

[Bogomolov] But then the Supreme Soviet of Crimea is accused of being inefficient....

[Bagrov] Yes, one can be critical of the Supreme Soviet of Crimea for not always being efficient, but then the other Supreme Soviets' images are not the best possible.

[Bogomolov] But we are now talking about Crimea's parliament, not that of Ukraine or Russia....

[Bagrov] Admittedly, the professional standards of our Supreme Soviets are different. We are aware of that, and we really do realize that. [interview ends]

Having looked through the transcript of this interview, I recalled immediately how the former president of the former USSR answered questions from journalists. An

answer to a concrete question that could have taken up two or three lines spread out to occupy half a newspaper page.

But Bagrov is capable of acting both swiftly and decisively, as the events of last spring showed. At that time, in late April, the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine made a serious political move. Instead of passing a law on delimiting powers between Ukraine and Crimea, it passed a law on the status of the Crimea's autonomy which sharply abridged Crimea's rights. Following that, the Bagrov-led Supreme Soviet of Crimea passed in the course of one week the Act on State Independence and the Constitution of the republic. Bagrov was urgently summoned to attend a session of the Ukrainian parliament where unprecedented pressure was brought to bear on him. A group of deputies demanded that he be immediately stripped of his immunity as a deputy, and taken into custody right there in the auditorium. TV viewers in Ukraine and Crimea could watch it all live. But Bagrov neither surrendered nor backtracked at that moment.

[Interview resumes] [Bogomolov] The Crimean press has written much about the activities of the publishing house "Let Us Be Merciful," which finances the Communist press, and about the activities of the Impex-55-Krym association that not only finances the press but also literally buys deputies. Did the Supreme Soviet of Crimea look into matters connected with these organizations?

[Bagrov] As for the questions of financing, there are many questions, primarily ethical ones. Thus we did not look into these questions. [interview ends]

I hope our inquisitive reader is not left with an impression that we were playing at "talking on a bad line." If the answer does not always coincide with the question, this is as it should be—it is just not done to ask again when talking with leaders of this rank, even less so to ask them to be more specific, therefore the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Crimea said all he wanted to say. As for me, I asked what I wanted to ask.

Navy Chief on Fleet's Present, Future

MK0804113093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Apr 93 p 3

[Interview with navy Commander Rear Admiral Boris Kozhin by Aleksandr Pilat under "Ukraine" rubric; place and date not given: "Republic Will Have Strong Naval Forces." Ukrainian Navy Commander Rear Admiral Boris Kozhin on Present and Future of Ukrainian Fleet"]

[Text] [Pilat] The opinion exists that only western regions of the state are giving the Ukrainian fleet any assistance....

[Kozhin] No, why is that? Of course, we are frequently visited by representatives of labor collectives from Ivano-Frankovsk and Ternopol Oblasts, but people also come—probably no less frequently—from Kharkov, Poltava, and other oblasts of Ukraine. They help us with food and have presented several television sets for ships.

[Pilat] The first anniversary of the day President Kravchuk issued the edict creating Ukraine's naval forces and appointed you their commander was 5 April. It is probably already possible to sum up some results, is it not?

[Kozhin] I do not wish to be banal: The most valuable thing we have today is people, deeply patriotic and highly professional cadres. I am not exaggerating. We have now almost entirely formed the personnel and directorate of the Ukrainian Navy, and they are 60 percent manned. Several crews have been formed for our warships.

Several Ukrainian warships are now lying in Sevastopol Bay. Your newspaper's readers probably know that the patrol boat Getman Sagaydachnyy arrived in Sevastopol not so long ago. It is a new, modern ship with the latest equipment: an antiaircraft missile complex, automatic artillery, and antisubmarine weapons. On board there is hydroacoustic equipment and an antisubmarine helicopter. It is undergoing sea trials. Also in accordance with our shipbuilding program, plants in Nikolayev, Kherson, Kerch, Kiev, and Feodosiya are building new ships for the Ukrainian Navy—ranging from a launch to a guided-missile cruiser. We will be getting approximately six ships even before the end of this year. I believe that by 1998 Ukraine will be in a position to build ships of new designs in full for its own fleet, without depending on other countries. At present some of the equipment comes from other CIS states, mainly from Russia. The Ukrainian Navy will have ships of all classes—antisubmarine and guided-missile hovercraft, minesweepers, in other words, everything a fleet in a maritime power should possess. In terms of numbers, it will look like this: approximately 40,000 servicemen and about 100 ships.

[Pilat] Is it planned for Ukrainian ships to sail outside the Black Sea in the future?

[Kozhin] Yes, of course. This follows from our concept of building the Ukrainian Navy. Ukraine is a maritime power which has a big fishing industry, and one of our tasks will be to protect fishing vessels and to safeguard their production activity in various parts of the world oceans. In addition, Ukrainian Navy ships will escort large oil tankers, particularly when they pass through regions of all-out conflicts; in other words, here we see

the need to use the Ukrainian Navy to ensure our state's economic activity.

[Pilat] Obviously, as an active member of the United Nations, Ukraine could make its naval forces available to fulfill tasks within the framework of decisions of the leading UN organs....

[Kozhin] I believe that this is not ruled out. If there is a corresponding political directive from our state leadership, I will make every effort to fulfill it.

Acting First Deputy Prime Minister Appointed

*WS0804130893 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian
31 Mar 93 p 1*

[Decree issued by President Leonid Kravchuk: "The Edict of the Ukrainian President on Acting First Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine"]

[Text] I hereby decree that Vasyl Ivanovych Yevtukhov shall be appointed acting deputy prime minister of Ukraine.

[Signed] Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk

[Dated] 26 March, 1993; Kiev

Belarus

Shushkevich 31 Mar Supreme Soviet Address

WS0804090093 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in
Belarusian 1027 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich at the 11th Supreme Soviet session in Minsk on the situation of the Belarusian Republic and urgent issues in the sphere of its domestic and foreign political activities—live]

[Excerpts] I would to make an off-the-record remark that this is not going to be simply a speech, but a report in compliance with Article 108 of the Belarusian Constitution.

Building of a Law-Governed State: The principal objective of the activities conducted by the highest authority, the Supreme Soviet, is the building of a law-governed democratic and sovereign state. Only this kind of state will eventually ensure proper living standards for each citizen and genuine sovereignty for the country. What has the Supreme Soviet done to achieve this in the past, and what is it planning to do in this direction?

The principal political and legal action taken by the Supreme Soviet was the Declaration of the State Sovereignty, adopted in the summer of 1990, which acquired the status of a constitutional law. This has created conditions for carrying out the independent national policy and orientated the construction of legal basis toward the consistent creation of an independent state. It is the Constitution that should underlie the entire system of legal regulations. Unfortunately, the 1978 Constitution requires a profound improvement. This is why a decision of the Supreme Soviet to form a Constitutional Commission to craft a new Constitution of the Belarusian Republic was well-timed. Seeking to create the legislation complying with modern requirements and our general objectives, in less than three years, we adopted about 500 legal acts,—more than we did over the past 50 years. It stands to reason that such an intensity of legal activities did not allow us to avoid certain neglectfulness, errors, and serious shortcomings. Nevertheless, thanks to the committed and hard work of the Supreme Soviet, our legislation consolidated the main principles of the country's sovereignty, human rights, and the equality of different types of ownership. The next step is to make these principles more meaningful and to provide for well-balanced legal norms. The volatile political processes complicate the building of a modern legal system. Legal acts are very often greatly incoherent and diverse. Our urgent task here is to systemize and improve the legislature, based on the new Constitution.

We have determined main directions of economic development and the creation of the market economy. But this transformation should be carried out in a civilized and legal way. Shortly before this session, the Constitutional Commission drew up a draft of the Constitution,

considering the requirements of Supreme Soviet resolution of 5 February, 1993. The further work was based on the results of the vote, which staked out a legal corridor for the commission's members. A package of the approved provisions reveals many internal contradictions, which I will illustrate on the example of ownership.

The draft law envisions domination of the executive power, with the president standing above all of the governing bodies. Even the U.S. President does not have such huge powers. I would like to note that in terms of the entire state, the proposed system of the executive branch is flawed in the first place because it has two levels. The president would resolve the most important issues and would therefore need an enormous number of aides to put together his edicts and administer the entire system of executive power. At the same time, the government, consisting mainly of professionals, will take care of lesser issues. In a situation where state ownership is overwhelming, the president will inevitably execute his power not only on the republican but also on the local level. According to the draft, the president will appoint most of the judges in the courts. And do not forget about the traditional dependency of all the governing bodies on the executive branch for logistic support. The president's almost unlimited authority becomes even more powerful against the amateurishness of the legislature, with its numerous representatives of local [word indistinct]. This option does not allow for the genuine division of powers, but this is what we voted for.

In my view, the parliamentary republic is more democratic, and the most acceptable option perceives the president only as a head of state. It is not a coincidence that most of the European states are parliamentary. This way of governing ensures a democratic adoption of decisions and responsiveness to different thoughts and approaches. Unfortunately, the 5 February resolution of the Supreme Soviet makes it impossible. I believe that we should know the public point of view and determine in detail the highest governing structures, based on scientific knowledge. There is a lot of work to do here for the Commission for State Building. I wish that all the members of the Constitutional Commission would work more actively on a draft of the new Constitution. The most knowledgeable specialists share their thoughts from this rostrum only, but they rarely participate in any commissions. Little thought have been given to introducing amendments and changes to the acting Constitution. Not only does it contain many obsolete laws and fails to keep abreast with the reality, but it also makes the execution of some recently enacted legislation impossible.

The private sector of economy is among the priorities in the development of the economic legislation. Economic reforms require several packages of legal acts. The first package includes ownership laws, which have been partially developed, including the Law on Ownership, legal acts on privatization, housing funds, and the transformation to the market system. However, there are some

shortcomings in this field that hamper the development of this system. Although we declared private ownership on land, no acceptable mechanism has been developed for its implementation. We failed to develop laws on investment insurances and privatization vouchers. We must activate the legislation that would make every citizen interested in privatization and compel them to participate in this process. We should ensure that every citizen receives his free-of-charge portion of the state property in privatization vouchers. Obviously, certain revenues from privatization should be used for the indexation of people's savings. Decisions on privatization should be made openly on all levels. The privatization made in the quiet of cabinets, disregarding of people's will and uncontrolled, can only complicate the transformation to the market economy.

The second package of laws includes the regulation of entrepreneurial activities. In this sphere, things are in better condition. The laws on enterprises, entrepreneurial activities, foreign investments, banks and their operations, very recently on joint stock companies, and limited liability and additional liability partnerships were adopted. However, these acts did not address all of the aspects of economic activities. Only the Entrepreneurial Code can solve these issues.

The last third package of laws, which has the strongest social orientation, is designed to regulate work relations under the new conditions, protect financially insecure categories of the population, and eliminate negative effects caused by the unemployment. We consider it the principal priority in the social sphere. The legislature, establishing new economic relations, should be accompanied by relevant laws. The transformation to the market-oriented economy will require the system of special social guarantees for the citizens. The Supreme Soviet has taken measures directed at the social protection of the population. But it was not always the initiative of the legislature. Sometimes they were prompted by trade unions or public organizations. However, we can say that the Supreme Soviet and the government, within their competence and financial resources, tried to respond to economic and political realities. We should carry on these kind of policies. Moreover, social and economic rights of the citizens should be written in the Constitution. Gone are the times of the total rejection of previous values just because they are associated in some ways with the socialist system. The acting Constitution contains several so-called social and economic rights. For example, the right to work, housing, free health care and education. They were, and still are, fully guaranteed by the state, and it would be a mistake to cross them out of the Constitution. The population disapproves of other approaches to this issue. According to a recent public opinion poll, 70 percent of those interviewed spoke in favor of leaving those rights intact. The main point here is that the state is responsible for protecting its citizens—not only from physical, but also the economic violence of other individuals, and for creating conditions that would allow them to apply their skills. Obviously, approaches

to solving this issue will be different than those taken in the past. We need to promote different types of work incentives and encourage private initiative, as well as abandon economic paternalism, which cultivates the climate of dependency. The draft of the Constitution has retained provisions guaranteeing decent living conditions for socially insecure groups of population.

Economy and social policy: There is no need to cover economic issues in great detail—we have extensively discussed them during this session. There is one of the more important aspects which was not properly addressed. I am talking about the need to find ways to protect the economic interests of the state and its citizens—perhaps through price controls and other economic levers, especially in those regions where goods which are very important for the Republic are available in large amounts. Speaking on social policy, it is impossible not to bring up the issue of social justice. Let me clarify it. Any legislature that we approved today envisions privileges for certain categories of workers. There is no doubt that proper privileges are rendered to the people who deserve them. In practice, however, the privileges get into the hands of those who, to put it mildly, have nothing to do with them. Take, for example, Chernobyl-related privileges. Even people that simply rode in a company car through the exclusion zone or spent a couple of days on a business trip there manage to benefit from them. This is a common practice. Unfortunately, there are plenty of shortcomings that need to be eliminated.

Our objective is to create a democratic state that has the right to have a different opinion. This country should oppose any kind of totalitarianism and diktat. Political and ideological pluralism has already become a basic principle of our life. This is written in the Constitution and some of the laws, such as the law on the main principles of democracy. These principles renounce the notion of a one-party system and accept a multiparty system as a basis for expressing the political will of the people. We should begin legal preparations as soon as possible to conduct the next elections to the soviets of people's deputies, and therefore hasten our work on the law on elections, public organizations, parties, self-government bodies, and local economy. A law-governed democratic state means unconditional compliance with international treaties, so we should strive to ensure by legal means that norms of international law are observed. On 23 October, 1991, we approved the law on the procedure of the conclusion, execution, and renunciation of international treaties, which regards the international treaties as superior to the domestic legislature and determines the procedure of the implementation of those treaties in the Republic of Belarus. The Supreme Soviet has recently ratified a number of international treaties, integrating Belarus with the international community.

The genuine protection of citizens' rights calls for considerable changes in the lawmaking process of the Supreme Soviet. Unfortunately, violations of standing

legislation occur because legal acts are often vaguely worded, and include no specific details as to how they should be implemented. Cases of authoritarianism and red tape are frequent in the field. Moreover, we often strengthen bureaucrats' decision making monopoly and provide fertile ground for abuses by giving local authorities the right to solve issues without a detailed description of their implementation. It is necessary to clearly specify the scope of power of institutions. We should step up control over the legislative process to prevent abuses [words indistinct]. Assistance in this sphere can be provided by the prosecutor's office, the Justice Ministry, and controlling bodies. The protection of citizens' rights can be enhanced by the adoption of a law on examining letters and complaints from citizens.

Health Care: In all the years since the Chernobyl tragedy, we have always said that health care is the number one problem for Belarus. Both physicians and ordinary people understand this very well. According to a public opinion poll, every fourth person interviewed said that he was most concerned about the deterioration of health care. Twenty days ago, a group of about 50 people's deputies from the Minsk City Council called upon me to address the catastrophic—let me emphasize it, catastrophic condition of the city's medical facilities, starved for basic equipment. Things are so bad that some facilities can even be closed due to a lack of basic medicine necessary to perform operations. The deputies wrote that they did not understand the position of the Health Ministry, which does nothing to prevent this vital sphere from collapsing. I mentioned this a week ago at the last session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and want to report the same to the highest body of the state power: Many members of the Presidium came to the conclusion that this issue should be tackled after considerable personnel changes within the Ministry of Health.

Science, Education, Culture, and Religion: Esteemed Deputies, this issue deserves more than just casual treatment. Strategy and main priorities of the state policy in this field will still have to be developed. Not many things look the way we want them to. In spite of the extreme importance of scientific development for the future of our Republic, we still have no well-thought-out scientific policy. There is no independent coordination among academic and branch institutes and the educational system. Scientists have no motivation to work. We have only just begun to work out a strategy in the sphere of culture and spiritual values. It is an extremely complex task to shape the national self-awareness of the Belarusian people. These issues can be least of all influenced by administrative and state regulations. They lie rather in the competence of the scientists, teachers, and artists, as well as the clergy. Reorganization of the entire educational system should mold a citizen and a real patriot of his country, responsible for its fate and the future. This means that our primary objective is the humanization of our education and the cultivation of educational forms that are based on national, historic, and cultural awareness. The language problem is one of

the most difficult. The Law on Languages is not being properly observed. On the other hand, the people often stick to the position of bilingualism. Therefore this question acquires a strong political character, which has a negative effect on the government's work in this field. I have already spoken many times on this, so let me note only one thing: the consolidation of national consciousness is not possible without the consistent policy directed at the enhancement of Belarusian as a state language. And one more remark: I do not agree with the idea of introducing on a large-scale private secondary and higher educational institutions. Neither the Belarusian state nor the population has sufficient resources for that. However, the situation may change with the gradual development of a market economy, and the initiative in this direction must not be curbed. So far, it is the state institutions that are responsible for the nation's education. With regard to this, we need to hasten the progress on vocational education, which could become a solid base for the successive social and economic development of the Republic.

Religious tolerance has become a distinctive feature of our life. More than 20 religions have been registered in our Republic, the largest being the Orthodox and Catholic ones. All of 788 Orthodox and 306 Catholic churches are open to worshipers, integrating practitioners of the two major Christian faiths. This is why their relations in the future will depend upon the state policy. Although they live together peacefully, it should be noted, however, that occasional frictions and claims for church premises do occur, as was the case in Smorgon, Lida, Polotsk, and other locations. Members of certain congregations sometimes seek dominance for their denomination. Also, some individuals, who have nothing to do with religion pursue their own interests under the guise of religion. The Law of the Belarusian Republic on Freedom of Religion and Religious Organizations lays the groundwork for the solution of all the conflicts and disputes in order to preserve pluralism and tolerance, inherent in our society and the people.

National Security and Combating Crime: Analysis of the Republic's national security has shown that the protection of its vitally important interests is not yet sufficient. A number of social and economic problems remain unsolved—privatization, market-economy relations, tax policy, and the conversion. In practice, they are often resolved at the expense of the socially least protected groups of the population, which discredits the policies of the legislature and the government. Growing crime rate and populist movements pervade an increasing number of social groups. Combating crime bears the heaviest burden in protecting the rights of the society and the state. This issue was scrutinized in great detail at the all-Republican meeting devoted to lawfulness and order. Crime corrupts the society, impedes the democratization, and places the state security in jeopardy. This process must be halted. The Supreme Soviet and the government do their best to reduce the crime rate. As a matter of fact, this was the main issue discussed by the

current session of the legislature. Intensive work is being conducted to craft relevant legislation. However, the efficiency of the law enforcement bodies greatly depends on their internal reserves and capability to properly address the current needs.

One of the reasons for the increasing crime rate is the flawed economic management, especially when it comes to the interaction of state and private structure. This is exactly where squandering of state resources, combined with the corruption of managers, takes place. Law enforcement bodies should not limit themselves to revealing crimes, but also submit their proposals for eliminating the causes of those crimes.

National Security Sphere: The Supreme Soviet and the government have developed the key laws and other legal acts, such as the laws on defense, armed forces, state border, etc. [Word indistinct] for the rapid creation of mechanisms for their implementation and the reform of the army, safeguarding the border, and their proper execution, including the issue of social safeguards. The Supreme Soviet has received a number of proposals aimed to enhance crime-fighting measures, including the increase in the Security Council powers. Obviously, fighting crime is one of the functions of this structure. The Security Council should coordinate the activities of state organs in the area of defense, the constitutional order, state sovereignty, the republic's territorial integrity, ecological situation, and the maintenance of political stability. The role of the council is not to adopt decisions that must be executed [as received], but to examine draft laws concerning military policy prior to legislative review; to determine priorities in the sphere of protecting state and citizens' interests; to take measures to enhance the system of national security. Legislative and executive branches cooperate within the framework of this structure. However, the division of authority does not mean isolation. There are no impenetrable barriers between the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers. On the contrary, the division of authority facilitates cooperation on issues of common interest to both bodies. This is why the status of the Security Council needs to be redefined, particularly because it was crafted under the former Soviet Union. The Security Council must be an efficient, and not a decorative body. However, this should be done in complete compliance with the Constitution [words indistinct]. Preliminary examination of the new draft law on the Security Council, by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers, has revealed a range of discrepancies that require some relevant changes. Given the general awareness of the need to increase the efficiency of this structure, we will continue to work on this draft and will submit it for review during the next Supreme Soviet session. The republic's national security is greatly determined by its foreign policy. The maintenance of security and consistent strengthening of the defensive capabilities opens the door to escalation and military confrontation. Such policy may lead a country even more powerful than the Republic of Belarus to a dead end. Saber - rattling on

the international arena does not go together either with our country's true potential, or the fundamentals of the Belarusian foreign policy. I am convinced that the principle of neutrality, included in the Declaration of Sovereignty, should define Belarusian foreign policy for centuries to come. Neutrality involves a number of aspects and general characteristics. Permanent neutrality, as part of state policy in peacetime, commits this state to steering a course of avoiding: Involvement in a war; the raising of territorial claims on neighbors, or entering into military pacts; permitting other countries to establish military bases on our territory; concluding treaties that entail political and economic preparations for war; membership in political and economic groupings connected with military blocks; equipping the army with weapons of mass destruction.

I am a firm supporter of Belarus's neutrality. I am not sure if we should include this clause in the constitution, but it should be codified in our laws and international laws and agreements. We should not think that Belarus's obligations to become a neutral country are incompatible with the U.N. statute. You know, the tenth session of the United Nations has granted membership to the neutral Austria, which means that the world community accepts the compatibility of its membership and the neutral status of a country. What is more, the neutral countries appear to be the most active fighters for peace.

Foreign Political Activity: Belarus is a unique country. Currently, the world is looking at us with curiosity, but we should not idealize the world community. It is impossible to avoid a collision of interests. The Belarusian Foreign Ministry, whose actions have not been positively evaluated by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the deputies, is developing a mechanism for entering the world community. What is the Presidium's opinion of the Foreign Ministry's activities? At first, I would like to give you an example. At the last session of the UN Assembly, the yearly contribution of Belarus to the UN budget was increased by \$2 million while our representatives were asking to decrease our contribution. How could it have happened? The answer is simple: the professional diplomatic incompetence of our diplomats. As a rule, the issues concerning the countries that are UN members are usually brought before the Assembly by friendly countries, but never by the countries themselves. In addition, the issue is not voted for if a positive outcome is uncertain. Preliminary consultations with all the UN members are necessary before the issue is introduced.

Next, our diplomats have not taken into consideration that discussions are informally prohibited in two cases: when the UN statute and the financial contribution to the UN budget are discussed. Why? The United Nations is cautious not to provoke a chain reaction. If the contribution of Belarus is decreased, then some other countries would like to be granted the same privileges. This is a defeat for our diplomats. But can you imagine that at the same session, Armenia managed to be granted

the status of a state which had suffered from an ecological disaster and consequently it was released from a membership fee. But such diplomatic defeats occur (?together with) pompous trips of our Foreign Ministry officials abroad. In the opinion of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pays too much attention to the contacts with the international nongovernmental organizations and forgets about the development of bilateral relations with the states which are of priority importance for the economic and political interests of the Republic. This is particularly true for the CIS countries which are outside the vision of our Foreign Ministry. This was confirmed by the Foreign Ministry representative at the last session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. It is a pity, but instead of conducting thorough work on the most important issues of Belarusian foreign policy, the ministry's activities are mainly concentrated in the sphere of cultural work abroad.

Next, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not get the political information delivered through diplomatic channels. Consequently, the Supreme Soviet and the government do not receive qualified analysis of the latest political events. The Foreign Ministry does not analyze the foreign political information from the point of view of its use for Belarusian foreign policy. The Foreign Ministry personnel are employed on the basis of preconceived ideas. The drawbacks in work of the Foreign Ministry are also connected with the fact that this ministry does not fulfill its mission as a coordinator of Belarusian foreign policy. Let us take an example. We sign an agreement. Then, we wait for some results. But we do not do anything to let the results emerge. I have never seen the Foreign Ministry schedule for the work on the signed agreements. [Words indistinct] I want to add that some initiatives in the foreign policy sphere belong to the Supreme Soviet commissions. For example, the Start I agreement was ratified only thanks to the thorough work of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. This showed the whole world community that Belarus is responsible for its obligations. As a result, the United States confirmed its readiness to widen bilateral cooperation with Belarus in the humanitarian, technical, and economic spheres. The U.S. Government has allocated \$65 million for aid in the spheres of economy, technology, and security. The present leadership of the Foreign Ministry cannot carry out effective work on behalf of the Foreign Ministry and can become detrimental to our national interests. Proposals to reorganize our foreign political and economic departments—the Foreign Ministry and the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, are reasonable. Probably the time has come to merge them, as in other countries like Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. This would eliminate the problem of the coordination of their activities, unresolved by the Council of Ministers because of the fact that this field has been supervised by at least five deputy prime ministers. Unfortunately, there have been no timely suggestions on the part of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, with regard to the improvement of activity in this direction.

Our relations with Belarusians living abroad deserve special attention. Almost 2.5 million Belarusians are been scattered all over the world. About 70,000 live in the United States, 10,000 in Australia, thousands in Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Canada, and Argentina. Belarusian associations exist in these states, and Belarusian periodicals are being published there. We have always shown an interest in each other. Friendly relations with these people have received the utmost attention from the Batkovshchina [Motherland] and Rodima [Native Land] societies, the Society for Relations With Foreign Countries, the Belarusian Language Society, the Culture Fund, and others. It is expedient to carry on the policy of supporting Belarusians abroad, and to pay more attention to the Belarusian community abroad, with the help of the appropriate government organizations of the host countries.

The first congress of Belarusians living in the neighboring states was held last December. People who originated from the same root, gathered in one hall and took a step towards each other. For the first time ever, their motherland turned for help to its sons and daughters living abroad. For the first time, there was talk of a national program for maintaining contacts with Belarusian emigrants. Other contacts with Belarusians from abroad are also taking shape. The All-Belarusian Forum, which is to take place in July, will become a very important event. This movement towards one another cannot fail to make us happy. With regard to this, we cannot avoid the issue of citizenship.

Many Belarusians residing in the neighboring states wish to have dual citizenship. Our law envisions a possibility of dual citizenship on the basis of international treaties. This is a kind of illusion. There are countries, Canada, for instance, whose legislation permits dual citizenship. This is why they will not sign any treaties with us, considering that this is our business and not theirs. The proper decision rests with the Supreme Soviet. It would be expedient for the Committee for National Policy and CIS Affairs to make its own suggestions. I am looking at my watch; I will skip one issue. I have a lot of material, but I will have pity on you.

Point seven: Ways To Overcome the Crisis and Achieve National Accord: Our intellectual potential and patriotic sentiment must be employed to the benefit of the state, whose image has been preserved in the national consciousness for ages, and the dream of which has finally come true. This makes me believe that the Belarusian people need legislative guarantees, a spirit of unity, and a vision of the common goal, rather than programs and promises.

Speaking at the beginning of the session, I pointed out that at least two basic political orientations can currently be distinguished in our society. They are marked by different approaches to the assessment of reality and ways to overcome the critical situation. Whatever is approved by one side is rejected point-blank by the other. Advocates of certain political ideas are trying to

implant their vision of the future of Belarus. The situation is aggravated by the strength of the system of political parties. The newly organized parties are incapable of performing the function of a link that would shape chaotic and amorphous interests into clear-cut political goals, into a package of possible political solutions.

Different corporate interests, skipping all the transitional stages, are being brought to high places and fought over at the highest level. Parties and movements are seeking support on the side of key political figures. As a result of this, lawmakers are launching arguments with their political adversaries in this hall, instead of elaborating on the strategies and tactics of democratic changes. Suspicion and aggression are the typical traits of the establishment of the new political system in Belarus. Instead of an overt test of wills, we are witnessing provocations. This does not help to build up the reputation of various parties or people.

True politicians acknowledge the need for the establishment of a multiparty system, composed of political extremes. Discontent and conflict pervade all spheres—something that is beginning to dissolve and destroy them and create political instability. This, unfortunately, results in the establishment in our consciousness of the stereotype of domestic and foreign enemies. According to this month research 61 percent of Belarusian residents believe that the majority of people have common enemies. Who are these enemies? Some 44 percent of the respondents say that these are criminals and the Mafia. One out of every six Belarusian inhabitants says that his enemy is the bureaucrat and the illegal profiteer; one out of every seven considers that his enemy is the former Communist party functionary. Some 13 percent of people say that their enemies are nationalists and chauvinists; 10 percent say these are entrepreneurs and representatives of small business; and eight percent fear democrats and the new administration.

Under these circumstances, we should be extremely exacting with regard to domestic policy. If we stick to the Chinese Red Guards slogan: "The Worse [It Gets], the Better [It Will Be]", then we must admit that in order to overcome the deep economic and political crisis in the society, we must first separate and let social opposition grow. This path does not lead to the improvement of the situation; it can only disorient the society and lead to a nationwide disaster. We must realize that further growth of the economic and political opposition will force us to give up the idea of building a law-abiding society and a socially oriented market economy. This is why the achievement of social accord is also a condition for the creation of a democratic system. If we base our home policy on the antagonism between different political forces and sociopolitical factions, we may face a situation when the implementation of reforms on democratic legal basis will become impossible. Then, to avoid civil disorder and the establishment of an outright dictatorship, we will have to retreat to martial law and to the control over both the economy and society. I am deeply

convinced that the current political system urges us to be less categorical and stubborn, because this leads to conflict and chaos. A modern politician, responsible for the people, may advocate only one view: There is no such thing as the absolute truth. There are compromises and consideration of all the parties' interests. This is why I have always been a supporter of consensus. In my opinion, our main cause is to unite our people, to use our people's national character as the source of strength in the world, in which each country has its prescribed role. The time is right to create a broad democratic movement, capable of uniting both people of different political views and different social forces, in order to implement the principle of consensus for progress, consensus for the Motherland. The strength and wisdom of our people lies in the art of reaching agreements, searching for accord, and reuniting in order to achieve peace and reforms. Our republic, more than ever, needs a dialogue between political forces for the well-being of Belarus. This approach will enable us to overcome the current economic crisis and hold regular elections to the Supreme Soviet next spring, on a truly democratic basis. We can argue about our new legislature's political image. But this much I know: there will be a big rotation in our deputies corps; representatives of various parties and movements will be elected by the people, and the multiparty system will become a strong partner of the administration.

Esteemed deputies! In accordance with Article No. 108 of the Belarusian Constitution, I have outlined the most relevant issues of the republic's domestic and foreign policy. Let us think together about how to better work for the benefit of the people of Belarus.

Shushkevich To Resign If Nation Joins CIS Security Pact

OW0904113193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1121 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a special session of the Belarusian parliament on Friday [9 April], its Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich proposed holding a referendum in May this year to determine the nature of Belarus neutrality. In his opinion one question should be asked at the referendum: "Do you support the neutrality of Belarus and keeping the republic away from any military and political unions with other states or their alliances?" Shushkevich said that if the nation favoured a union he would immediately resign.

He assessed what was going in parliament as "a dangerous power crisis" and stressed that any decision to join the collective security system would damage relations with President Yeltsin and democratic Russia.

Shushkevich also suggested that parliament should propose that Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Rumania, Moldova, and, possibly, Hungary declare neutrality and thereby set up a belt of neutral states in Europe. "Such a

belt, he said, would become the guarantee our security and an example to the whole world".

After a vote by name, deputies took the report by the parliament's chairman into consideration and asked him to sign the collective security treaty with appropriate reservations.

Security Council Favors Collective Security Pact

OW0804163993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1602 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliamentary national security commission on Thursday proposed adding the following request to the Parliament's decision on the economic situation in the republic: "Instruct parliament chairman Stanislav Shushkevich to ask the heads of states party to the CIS collective security treaty on joining the pact for a transitional period". The commission suggests joining the accord with reservations to bar Belarusian troops from military actions outside Belarus and from relocating in other countries.

Most debaters at the session, except its chairman Stanislav Shushkevich, agreed to join the pact on such terms.

The advocates of the document included the chairman of the parliamentary Commission on National Security, Defence, and Crime Prevention Mechislav Grib, the defence minister, lieutenant-general Pavel Kozlovskiy, the coordinator of the numerically strongest Parliamentary fraction "Belarus" G. Kozlov, and the prime minister's chief adviser Nikolay Skorynin.

General Kozlovskiy warned that staying out of the collective security treaty was detrimental to the defence interests of the republic. Russia, in the minister's words, intended to charge hard currency for the supply to Belarus of military hardware components and spare parts as well as for military cadets training in Russia. General Kozlovskiy reported that Russia had demanded \$1000 to train one military cadet. "Service in the air force and the anti-aircraft defence troops of Belarus and the supply of spare parts to them have come to a halt" the minister stated. In his words, "in 12-18 months aviation will be incapable of fulfilling combat tasks". Because of the lack of charge batteries that came from Russia in the past, the republican fleet of tanks might soon become fully incapacitated.

For his part, G. Kozlov declared that the "Belarus" faction had worked out tactics for an emergency Parliamentary session on Thursday. He said that the tactics presupposed listening in turn to what the defence, justice, foreign ministers, and the KGB chief said (all of whom favor CIS collective security membership) and then voting on the issue.

Nikolay Skorynin wanted Belarus to join the collective security pact for economic reasons. He noted, however, that if in the past Russia and a number of other signatories to the treaty had given Belarus most favored nation status in trade, lately the position of these countries had changed. This had found expression above all in hiked energy prices and in all kinds of custom duties.

Mechislav Grib told Interfax that he doubted it would be possible to work out on the basis of the collective security treaty a single military doctrine similar to the one held by the former USSR. In his opinion, relations between the collective security pact members would be similar to those between the NATO members. He emphasized that "Belarus had no potential adversaries".

IF [INTERFAX] Note: In a conclusion submitted by experts to the Supreme Soviet, the need for Belarus to join the collective security treaty was motivated among other reasons by "a change in the military and political situation in Europe (the emergence of new seats of tension, a shift in Poland's military potential toward the Belarus borders, more NATO influence in Europe, the growing might of united Germany, etc.).

Deputies Work Toward Shushkevich's Dismissal

LD0804215793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] It seems that a political crisis is flaring up in Minsk, where the large Belarus parliamentary faction is opposing Shushkevich, head of the parliament. The POSTFACTUM agency cites some interesting details to the effect that many deputies are planning to try to get Shushkevich's dismissal. Representatives of the Belarus faction are sharply critical of him for what they term his involvement in the disintegration of the USSR. A fresh ground for criticism has been Shushkevich's statement that it is inexpedient to accede to the collective security treaty between former Soviet republics. At the same time Shushkevich's stand is backed by the opposition People's Front. Judging by some reports, Shushkevich may avail himself of his constitutional right and proclaim a referendum on the issue of maintaining neutrality.

Deputies Divided on Signing of Joint Security Treaty

WS0904075293 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] On 8 April, at the 11th extraordinary Supreme Soviet session, 13 deputies, three military experts, foreign and defense ministers, and the chairman of the Committee for State Security supported Belarus signing the collective security treaty. Fifteen people's deputies opposed this idea. Six former or present generals, two colonels, and one lieutenant colonel were among those who backed the CIS collective security treaty. It is

expected that Stanislav Shushkevich's 9 April speech will become a turning point in the discussion.

Social Democrats Against Joining Collective Security System

OW0804152893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of the Belarusian Social Democratic Party, Oleg Trusov, told a news conference in Minsk Thursday [8 April] that his party had this week started collecting signatures under a petition against the republic joining the collective security system of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Some 3,000 signatures had been collected to date, he said.

He said that if parliament carried the motion for Belarus joining the system the party would ask parliament chairman Stanislav Shushkevich, who opposes it, to make another proposal for calling a referendum on the issue.

According to Trusov, 73 members of parliament on Thursday signed a petition for a referendum against the minimum 115 signatures necessary to hold it.

Another Social Democratic leader, Viktor Alampiyev, said that for parliament to take up this issue was an "attempt of by pro-communist forces in Belarus and Russia to compromise Russian President Boris Yeltsin."

Defense Minister Addresses Parliament on Joint Security

WS0904093093 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0948 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Speech by Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy at the Supreme Soviet session in Minsk—live, in Russian]

[Text] Esteemed deputies! I find it difficult to speak. I wanted to keep the Army away from politics, but we, the military, cannot stand the sight of the Army being ruined. While explaining the stance of the Ministry of Defense, we find ourselves in the middle of politics. Who should Belarus associate with? From what we understand, it is impossible to remain alone. I would like to speak about the expediency of the solution of this issue. The concepts of national interests and national security have not been shaped due to objective reasons. We must find a model of national security, combining economic, political, military, and other factors. We do not regard its solution from the point of view of our parochial interests, we regard it from the point of view of unity between theory and practice, from the point of view of military science. This approach has facilitated the analysis of all the economic, political, legal, military, and even moral and psychological aspects. It gave us a chance to consider both the contradictory current realities and the lessons of

history. The systematic analysis of this problem makes it possible to predict the advantages of its solution.

The changes that have occurred in recent years have upset the balance of forces in the international arena. The classical notions of enemies, allies, and neutral states have crossed their traditional frameworks. But the fact that the image of the enemy, epitomized by a concrete state or pact, disappeared, did not help to eliminate all the contradictions and solve all the economic, political, territorial, and ethnic problems. We need time and joint efforts to solve them. As long as these problems continue to exist, the danger of war remains. Under certain circumstances they can be transformed into a threat of war. The Middle East events of 1991 and the military conflict in former Yugoslavia testify to this. Our Republic has no territorial claims against its neighbors and does not regard any state as its enemy. But it would be premature to disregard a chance that such claims could be put forward against us, nor can we disregard possible interference in our affairs. The discussion over Belarus joining the security system abound in arguments for and against this system. This is easy to explain, because the price to be paid for the choice is very high. However, I would like to point out that most of the arguments against the treaty are expressed by a very narrow political faction. Their arguments are laden with emotions and slogans, and are not constructive. The discussion is under way with regard to two possible ways of overcoming the critical situation. We can either follow the path of cooperation with other states, including military cooperation, or we can rely on our own forces to solve the problem of Belarusian security. This second way is undoubtedly more costly, and the Republic will not be able to afford it in the nearest future.

Our discussion today was preceded by strenuous work of deputy committees and experts. Representatives of the Ministry of Defense participated in this work. Their conclusions are known; I do not want to repeat them. I only want to emphasize certain purely military aspects of the problem from the point of view of a professional. In our opinion, the tactical decision to enter the system of joint security for a transitional period will create conditions for obtaining the strategic goal—that of the creation of a nuclear-free and neutral state. We will also be able to grant the state's economic development and its national security, and preserve our Armed Forces as a most relevant attribute of the state. We are currently facing new problems and difficulties. They would be easier to cope with through cooperation in the military field. But who shall we cooperate with? We must determine it. Taking into consideration the single military doctrine, single arms and equipment, and contacts in the military field, we come to the conclusion that CIS members can become our allies. Nobody wants us in NATO. Let me furnish a couple of examples. If we enter the system of joint security, we will have a chance to train our cadets on more favorable terms. The Russian Federation has plans to exact \$1,000 a month from each

specialist through the Headquarter's 10th Main Directorate. The signatories of the [joint security] treaty will make payments in rubles.

A coordinated system of air defense will secure complete and reliable information on the means of air strike, enable us to launch data exchange, and improve the control over air space in times of peace. We will be able to use the test ranges of the Commonwealth for firing practice. We do not have such ranges for Air Defense Forces on the territory of Belarus. The lack of firing practice by missile teams will undermine their combat effectiveness, and missiles will have to be destroyed due to their expiration date. The single informational space will facilitate the use of new means of reconnaissance and obtain diverse information with regard to foreign states, their armed forces, and means of conducting war, which is extremely important for the evaluation of the political situation. We are now facing informational hunger, and we cannot afford publishing books for our needs. The problem of the absence of ammunition for combat training must be solved immediately. The creation of a system of maintenance for military equipment will enhance the combat readiness of our troops and eliminate additional costs needed for launching the special purpose production. CIS members cover 90 percent of the Republican Armed Forces' demand for arms, machines, subassemblies, missiles, and ammunition. The disintegration of the Soviet Union has led to the destruction of the existing vitally important ties, and systems of arms production and supplies. The Republic of Belarus possesses a high scientific and industrial potential in the field of defense. However, it is unable to master the construction of even small functionally important elements of weapons systems for the Air Defense Forces, Air Forces, and Ground Forces.

This is an insoluble problem for our crisis-stricken economy. At the same time, the solution of this problem will bring benefit to all sides. Our enterprises will receive their contracts and thus survive and carry out a planned conversion. We receive more than 300 different types of oil and lubricants from Russia. If we enter the system of joint security, then, according to our forecasts we will be able to reduce our defense expenditures. Some people say that the Army must be reduced even more. Perhaps. But we have planned a 60 percent reduction. Let us carry out this program until 1 January 1995. After this, the state and the Supreme Soviet will be able to evaluate the political situation and decide whether further reduction is expedient. This is dangerous today, also from the point of view of national security. If we destroy the Army, we will also destroy the state. I want to emphasize the importance of the issue to be adopted by the deputies corps. Security today, including joint security, is, in the first place, a political problem. At the same time, on behalf of the professional military, who realize the complexity of combining political and military means for securing the Republic's sovereignty, I want to say that we relied only on facts and their unbiased analysis. It is important for the Republic to enter the system of joint security within the CIS. The decision rests with you.

Prime Minister Says Talks With Chernomyrdin Successful

LD0804195493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] All questions raised by the Belarus side met with understanding from the Russian Government, Vyacheslav Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Belarus, said, referring to the results of his meeting with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin on 5 April in Moscow. He said that a whole list of questions had been discussed, including those to do with the setting up of an economic union.

It was decided, for example, that the tax on Russian goods entering Belarus would not be levied while talks are under way. Kebich pointed out that the question of increasing oil quotas and of speeding up delivery of oil in time for work in the fields are now being settled.

The problem of increasing the capacity of the Mozyr oil refinery, where one unit had to be stopped due to the reduction in oil supplies from Russia, has also been resolved positively. A decision has been made to pump surplus fuel oil from Russia to Mozyr the BELINFORM agency reports.

Foreign Minister To Meet Christopher 19 Apr

WS0804132693 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1200 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] Some time ago U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka exchanged letters. The Belarusian Embassy in the United States issued a press release saying that an agreement has been reached with the U.S. State Department on holding a meeting between Kravchanka and Christopher in Washington on 19 April. This will be the first high-level meeting between representatives of the new U.S. administration and the Belarusian Government. It is expected that the meeting will facilitate the strengthening and further development of friendly bilateral relations.

'Hot Line' To Be Established Between Minsk, Washington

LD0804171493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1535 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By BELINFORM-TASS correspondent Leonid Tratsvskiy]

[Text] Minsk April 8 TASS—Belarusian and American experts participating in the three-day talks which ended here on Thursday agreed to establish a hot line of satellite communication between the capitals of the two countries, Minsk and Washington.

Americans will install a communication station in Minsk on July 12. By that time they also undertook to train eight Belarusian specialists for servicing the line.

The hot line is to begin working on August 31 this year.

Moldova

Snegur: Nation Ready To Demilitarize Dniester Region

OW0804171193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1604 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Mircea Snegur said at a meeting with the new Swiss Ambassador to Moldova Armin Hamer on Wednesday [7 April] that Moldova was ready to proclaim Dniester a demilitarized region and pledges to settle disputes only by political means. However, he remarked that "we do not find proper understanding from our opponents" (in Tiraspol).

IF [INTERFAX] Note: Quick demilitarization on the left bank of the Dniester is opposed by the 14 Russian army in Dniester. General Aleksandr Lebed was put in charge of the army last April when the armed conflict came to a head. Many officials in the region say that it was his tough stand that kept tension from mounting.

In Mr. Snegur's words, at its next session, Moldova's Parliament will again discuss a special status for Dniester areas and communities, populated by Gagauz.

A statement adopted by the parliament's presidium says: "We have come to the critical point when further delay on the accumulated problems would be intolerable. It is our duty to find a common language, lift the tension in society, create favorable conditions for getting over the political and economic crisis.

Regrettably, the reaction of some people to the first steps by the parliamentary commission, set up by the presidium to solve issues in the eastern parts of the republic (Dniester - IF) and in the communities populated by Gagauz, indicate that the commission's goals and tasks are unsuitable for them. Dniester media has stated that Moldova has been acquiring advanced weapons for its army and has been trying to join NATO. Such preparations leave no doubt that the military conflict might be re-kindled for destroying the Dniester Moldovan republic.

Considering that a significant part of the population in that region has been living for over a year in a situation of distorted political orientation and could heed these instigative rumors, the presidium of Moldova's parliament declares with full responsibility that the most complex issues of these regions will be settled only by peaceful means through a comprehensive dialogue along the lines of respect, understanding, and desire for agreement and for the triumph of law."

IF Note: As is known, the main guarantors against the resumption of the armed conflict in Dniester last year were Russia and Ukraine people (living on the left bank of the Dniester are mainly people of Russian and Ukrainian extraction). For this reason, observers focus on the appointment by Mr. Snegur of ambassadors to Russia and Ukraine. The Moscow mission is led by Anatol Tsenaru, a 42-year-old historian, heading the parliamentary faction of independent deputies. A member of Moldova's social-democratic party, Mr. Tsenaru objects plans to reunify his country with Romania. Born in 1929, the ambassador to Ukraine Ion Borshevich holds a scientific degree in philosophy. He was a presidential adviser in 1990 and became chief adviser of the Presidential office. Mr. Borshevich has the reputation of a "grey cardinal", a man who has much influence on the president when he has to decide on matters of critical importance.

Snegur Says Dniester Issue To Be Solved in 1993

AU0904113093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] Related to the recent declaration issued by the Presidium of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, stating among other things that the settlement of the problems in the eastern rayons of the Republic of Moldova is to be accomplished exclusively by means of peaceful methods, dialogue, and according to the principles of mutual understanding and respect, Moldovan President Mircea Snegur today made a statement to representatives of the press.

President Snegur confirmed the [previous] statement and pointed out that all allegations that the Republic of Moldova is equipping its armed forces with modern weapons and that it is trying to establish closer ties with NATO structures because it intends to resume the Dniester conflict are totally untrue. After dismissing those allegations, President Snegur said that 1993 is the year in which the problems of the eastern rayons of the Republic of Moldova will be peacefully settled, our correspondent in Chisinau, Calin Petrescu, reports.

Talks Begin on Status of Russian 14th Army

LD0804224793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] The fourth round of negotiations between the delegations from Moldova and the Russian Federation on the status, conditions, and deadlines for the withdrawal of Russia's 14th Army from the Dniester region started in Chisinau today.

First Deputy Foreign Minister Ion Cebuc, the head of the Moldovan delegation, stated that the negotiations have reached the final stage. Several points remain to be examined by the experts. They concern the property of the 14th Army, the deadlines for its withdrawal, and Moldova's participation in the evacuation. He said, however, that from the very outset of the negotiations

the fact that the delegation of military experts from Russia had arrived in Moldova's capital via Tiraspol was regarded in Chisinau as indirect support for the separatists, despite the Russian side's explanation.

Nevertheless, Ion Cebuc expressed the hope that such a start would not affect the progress of the dialogue that will last two days. Russia's delegation is headed by Vladimir Plechko, Russia's ambassador to Moldova.

Kazakhstan**Nazarbayev Supports Strengthened Russian State***LD0804164593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0750 GMT 8 Apr 93*

[Text] Moscow, 8 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—“Today, close relations between Russia and Kazakhstan mean a stabilizing factor over the entire Eurasian area in the post-Soviet period,” Kazakhstani President Nursultan Nazarbayev believes. “Our republics are objectively tied to each other by economic and military-political relations, which have roots in the deep past and are directed into the future” he remarks in an article published today in the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVISTI weekly. If a slip happens in these relations, the consequences will be severe, and not just for the two republics. Stability in Russia is a need for Kazakhstan not less than for Russia itself.” [quotation marks as received] “The true guarantor of this stability,” Nursultan Nazarbayev thinks, “is the strengthening of the Russian state, as well as a strong and authoritative, effectively functioning state power. And hence, a president elected by the people, and undoubtedly a legitimate parliament.”

“This is Kazakhstan’s position: We will welcome every step by the Russian authorities directed toward overcoming the crisis within the limits of the process of democratization, within the limits of law,” he emphasized.

“We can by no means be uninvolved in Russian affairs,” Nursultan Nazarbayev emphasized, “primarily because Kazakhstan is connected with Russia not with thousands but millions of threads, millions of human destinies. Is not a third of our republic comprised of Russians? And on behalf of these people, our citizens, I am trying to work for Russia’s revival and prosperity in the same way as for that of my dear Kazakhstan. Should there be a strong, prosperous Russia, we will be prosperous too.”

Nazarbayev Meets Top Military Brass*LD0804233393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1828 GMT 8 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata April 8 TASS—The strategic task of the Armed Forces of Kazakhstan is to cooperate with the Russian Army, according to President of the Republic Nursultan Nazarbayev who addressed top military brass on Thursday in connection with the first anniversary of the creation of the National Armed Forces.

The strength of the Kazakh Army should correspond to the principle of reasonable sufficiency, it must be able to protect the country and its citizens, the president said.

The military doctrine of Kazakhstan is purely defensive which was positively assessed by the world community, Nazarbayev added.

He called on the military to improve the training of youngsters who are to serve in the army and promised that citizens of former Soviet republics serving in the Kazakh Armed Forces will enjoy the same rights and benefits as ethnic Kazakhs.

Supreme Soviet Discusses Defense Issues*LD0804202393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 8 Apr 93*

[Video report by Dukesh Baimbetov from Kazakhstan; from the “Novosti” newscast]

[Text] The problem of setting up an army, social and legal protection for servicemen and funding of military projects are all topics on the agenda of the Supreme Soviet session which is now taking place. It is being noted that the Republic’s military doctrine is defensive and aimed at preventing war and preserving peace. But the armed forces must be equipped with the most up-to-date weapons and must maintain a high level of combat readiness and discipline. At a meeting with the leadership of the Defense Ministry [President Nursultan] Nazarbayev spoke about the state of affairs in the Air Force, Border Guards, and Interior Ministry troops. He has just issued a decree on the establishment of a republican navy. Local bodies of power will play an active part in the development of all types of forces.

The strategic objective of the armed forces is military cooperation with Russia. Non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and respect for international law will be strict principles for them. Kazakhstan gives a firm guarantee that the rights of young Commonwealth citizens serving on its territory will not be infringed in any way. All measures of social and legal protection will also apply to them in full.

Passes Bill on Defense, Armed Forces*OW0904134093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 9 Apr 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [9 April] the parliament of Kazakhstan passed a bill on defense and the armed forces, which had been considered for a second time after President Nursultan Nazarbayev’s order to revise the draft. In the initial draft the wording of the point as to who should cover the expenses connected with the conscription of members of the various governmental and non-governmental structures was not clear enough.

Head of the Defense Department of the president’s office Kim Serikbayev told INTERFAX that from now on all expenses would be met by the Defense Ministry, the Interior Ministry and by the National Security Committee. Nevertheless the maximum amount of compensation was not reflected in the bill, Serikbayev said.

According to him, on April 2 President Nazarbayev signed a directive under which the servicemen’s wages

rose by average 2.2 times. He confirmed parliament's intention to decide at its present session whether to deploy a Kazakh battalion in Tajikistan or not.

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Nagorno-Karabakh

LD0804233793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1915 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata April 8 TASS—The Kazakh Foreign Ministry has circulated a statement on Thursday [8 April] in connection with further worsening of the conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh. Reports about the developments in Karabakh were met with "concern and anxiety," the statement said.

It was pointed out that further escalation of the conflict could have serious military and political consequences. "No one can remain indifferent to the death of the peaceful population, the destruction of cultural heritage created over centuries by efforts of both nations," the statement said. Armed confrontation is fraught with the danger of expanding the zone of military operations.

The Kazakh Foreign Ministry has called on the conflicting sides to make all possible efforts to cease military operations, sit down to a negotiating table and resolve disputable problems by peaceful political means.

Nazarbayev Receives Oman Delegation; Treaty Signed

LD0904035293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1953 GMT 8 Apr 03

[By KAZTAG correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko for TASS]

[Text] Alma-Ata April 8 TASS—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev received a government delegation from Sultanate of Oman on Thursday, led by deputy prime minister for economic and financial issues, Qays 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Zawawi.

During the meeting the sides discussed questions of further development of mutually advantageous cooperation, which was quite intensive over a comparatively short period of time.

The Sultanate rendered assistance to Kazakhstan in elaborating a recently signed contract on the establishment of the "Tengizshevroil" joint venture and granted a credit to Kazakhstan worth 100 million dollars.

The credit provides funds for the construction of Tengiz-Noborossysk pipeline for the transportation of oil. A corresponding agreement was signed with Russia as well. Both Kazakhstan and Oman are interested in the speediest ratification of this document.

During a brief visit to Alma-Ata by the Omani delegation measures were outlined for cooperation in copper and gold mining industries, the development of the Caspian Sea shelf and agriculture.

Kazakhstan can export wheat, rice and meat products to Oman. In its turn, Kazakhstan needs fish flour which is produced in Oman in abundance. There are plans to increase the number of joint ventures, investments and sign an agreement on mutual protection and guarantees of investments expected to be signed on the Oman's initiative.

Upon completion of the meeting an intergovernmental agreement was signed on geological prospecting and dividing the development of deposits on the territory of Atyrausk region. Joint prospecting for oil and gas deposits and their subsequent development are of great interest to both sides.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev, Turkish President 'Satisfied' With Talks

OW0804171593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1604 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Commenting on the results of Turkish President Turgut Ozal's visit to Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev told a news conference on Wednesday [7 April] that Kyrgyzstan had the same political and economic ideals as Turkey. He said Turkey was a very good example to follow for all independent states of Central Asia. He also said he attached great importance to Turkey's role in the political and economic integration of the Central Asian countries.

Akayev said Turkey was rendering invaluable assistance to Kyrgyzstan as the latter entered the world political and economic community. Turkey, he added, was the first state to help Kyrgyzstan develop its economy by giving it credit worth \$75 Mn [million].

In Ozal's view, Kyrgyzstan was able to make an economic leap forward. He said there were economic projects Turkey was going to implement jointly with Kyrgyzstan.

On Thursday, Akayev's press service published a joint Kyrgyz-Turkish communique, according to which the negotiations had demonstrated that the two countries held similar positions on today's main issues, including peace and development, disarmament, and opposition to hegemonistic tendencies in international politics. Both states considered that each country had the right to choose its own path of development and an economic model in keeping with its specific characteristics, and that all states must have equal rights in discussing

international issues. Kyrgyzstan and Turkey would abide by the United Nations Charter and the international agreements they had signed, the communique read.

Both presidents were satisfied with their meeting and said that it has opened up good prospects for extensive and mutually beneficial cooperation between their countries. Their countries, they said, had tremendous potential for developing economic relations and would cooperate in all forms accepted in world practice, the communique says.

Envoy to Turkey Named; Ties, Embassies Established

LD0804190193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] An agreement for Talamush Okeyev to be the future ambassador of Kyrgyzstan to Turkey has been received from Ankara. He is a prominent figure of national cinematography. He is also a producer and a Supreme Soviet deputy. He is well-known for his restrained speeches. According to his opinion, he is a person who represents the center. Talamush Okeyev recently finished shooting "Genghis Khan," a Kyrgyz-Italian-American film. Kyrgyz diplomacy has chosen aggressive tactics for itself.

A decree from President Akayev on setting up an embassy in Beijing was published today. Similar documents on opening embassies in Germany and Belgium were published earlier.

Diplomatic relations have been established with Latvia and the Kingdom of Nepal.

Tajikistan

All Russian Border Guards Returned

OW0904024593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0202 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday [8 April] all 10 of the Russian border guards who were seized April 5 by armed fighters of unidentified affiliation were returned from Afghanistan to Tajikistan, reported the press center of the Russian border troops to INTERFAX.

According to unconfirmed reports, the Russian border guards from the Khorog section of the Tajik-Afghan border were captured by fighters from the oppositional Islamic Rebirth Party of Tajikistan, which is led by Mullah Abdugafar. The fighters are said to have undergone preparations in Afghanistan.

Military sources in Dushanbe say that the prisoners' recovery became possible only after the Russian border troops command and the Tajik Defense Ministry gave an ultimatum to Afghanistan and the Tajik opposition on the impermissibility of such actions. The Russian and

Tajik defence departments said they would take "all necessary action" to free the border guards.

Opposition Held Guards in Afghanistan

LD0904092593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0728 GMT 9 Apr 93

[By KHOVAR news agency correspondent Salokhiddin Ergashev for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe April 9 TASS—Ten Russian border guards who were freed on Thursday had been seized by Tajik opposition militants headed by Mullo Abdugaffor from the Party of Islamic Revival of Tajikistan, according to a spokesman of the Russian frontier troops in Tajikistan.

The border guards were taken to Afghanistan and stayed on the territory controlled by the 12th Afghan Brigade. Its commander, Major-General Abdulkadyr promised to the Russian command that "similar actions in the zone of his responsibility will be cut short in future".

The seizure of the border guards in Gorno-Badakhshan region of Tajikistan caused protests among the local population. A rally on Thursday protested against the actions of Abdugaffor.

The spokesman said that Russian servicemen were ordered to fight back in case of danger to their lives.

Abdullodzhonov Comments on Russia's 'Important Role'

OW0904102493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1012 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The claim that the current leadership of Tajikistan is pro-communist is slander which benefits only the republic's enemies," said Tajik Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdullodzhonov in an interview with INTERFAX.

The prime minister pointed out the important role that Russia has played in the stabilization of the situation in Tajikistan. "We always consult with Russia and act in coordination with [Russia]," he said.

According to Abdullodzhonov, the Tajik Supreme Soviet's passing of laws recognizing Russian as the republic's second state language, granting dual citizenship to Russian speaking Tajik residents, and protecting national minorities will further strengthen relations between Dushanbe and Moscow. "These laws must be passed. It's not worth it for us to isolate one another," he said.

Abdullodzhonov pointed out that the stabilization of the situation in Tajikistan is being hindered by attempts from armed groups to illegally cross the border from Afghanistan. "For us this is a big problem," said the

minister. He added that to solve the problem, Tajikistan is counting on help, including military help, from other CIS republics and especially from Russia.

"The border with Afghanistan must be reinforced, as was stipulated by the Minsk agreements," said the prime minister. He said reports that Pamiri are being persecuted in Tajikistan were not true. "Pamiri emigres, who make up only 2-3% of the republic's population, are in the government and in the Supreme Soviet - that is the best confirmation that no one is persecuting them," said Abdullodzhonov.

The prime minister called "regular nonsense" the idea of forming a "great Tajikistan," which would include regions of Afghanistan and Iran that are populated by Tajiks. "We do not have and never will have any pretensions toward this. The people spreading this idea want to plant the seed of discord and dispute in the region," he claimed.

'Armed Groupings' Fire on Abdullodzhonov's Helicopter

OW0804223393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2118
GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During a Government delegation visit to Khatlon area the helicopter transporting the head of the Government of Tajikistan and the delegation, Abdumalik

Abdullodzhonov, was fired at from near the Tajik-Afghan border by unidentified armed groupings, informed the republic's Premier at a press conference in Dushanbe upon his return from the South.

When asked about the details, he joked: "We must have been flying close to the border for too long." Speaking on the results of the visit to Khatlon area that suffered the most severe devastation from fighting between Government forces and the opposition units, Abdumalik Abdullodzhonov remarked that rebuilding it would require 220 Bn [billion] rubles.

"Since the state's annual budget adds up to only 37 Bn rubles, the funding for rebuilding Khatlon shall have to be obtained through Russian and foreign credits," said A. Abdullodzhonov. He is certain such credits will be offered. "Starting next year, we shall be procuring 4 to 6 tons of gold and 40 tons of silver," stated the Premier. "We do not intend to sell this reserve but the very presence of it can provide a guarantee that the debt will be paid back." He expressed hope that Tajikistan with its "reserves of minerals and precious metals, prospects for the further development of the coal and traditional industries (that is silk, cotton and wine grape production) can in 10 to 15 years attain the level of the world's most affluent nations." Abdumalik Abdullodzhonov added that the nation's oil and gas reserves can fully satisfy the home consumption demand of Tajikistan.

Armenia**Presidential Spokesman Denies Cease-Fire Agreement***LD0904090293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0825 GMT 9 Apr 93**[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]*

[Text] Yerevan, 25 Apr—No accords have been reached in Sochi on a cease-fire between Armenia and Azerbaijan, either verbal or written, stated a spokesman for the Armenian Government today. In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent Armenian Presidential Press Secretary Aram Abramyan stressed that "State Minister Vazgen Sarkisyan, who represents Armenia, was not instructed to nor did he negotiate the issue of halting hostilities with the Azerbaijani representative."

"The only agreement reached in Sochi was to have a meeting between the Armenian and Azerbaijani heads of state. The technicalities of organizing this meeting are now being worked out," the press secretary emphasized.

Denounces World Criticism Over Karabakh*NC0804181193 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 8 Apr 93*

[Text] Aram Abramyan, press secretary for the Armenian president, held a news conference today. He informed reporters that a number of international tribunals and countries have expressed their deep anxiety over the spread of the military operations in Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan. Abramyan added that a similar statement was also received from the EC countries.

Abramyan said that Armenia is also anxious about the renewed broadening of the military operations and this anxiety was expressed in the statements issued and messages sent out by President Levon Ter-Petrosyan. Armenia is against the use of brute force in settling international disputes. However, Armenia disagrees with biased and typical reaction to various acts of force. Such acts should be condemned unequivocally in all cases, and not in certain selected cases. Was the forcible occupation of Shaumyanovskiy subrayon and Mardakertskiy Rayon of Nagorno-Karabakh a year ago not an escalation in the military operations? Or, was the occupation of Artsvashen [last year] by the Azerbaijani Army not a direct aggression against Armenia? Thousands of residents of Shaumyanovskiy became refugees and narrowly escaped through forests and over mountains before the advancing Azerbaijani armed formations, and many could not cross the difficult mountainous roads and died of hunger and exhaustion under unceasing shelling. Did the international community at the time pass an appropriate judgment against the aggressor, Azerbaijan? Unfortunately, not.

Armenia is unequivocally in favor of a cease-fire without preconditions, and calls on the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and Azerbaijan to sit at the negotiating table.

All the sides interested in the peaceful resolution of the Karabakh conflict should realize that it is the NKR that is organizing its own defenses and that Republic must be taken into account. Armenia is not taking part in any of the military operations in the NKR or on Azerbaijani territory.

Abramyan said: The UN Security Council has issued instructions for the formation of a commission to visit the region and collect information. We are sure that once the commission arrives in the region and gets acquainted with the facts on the ground, it will be convinced that Armenia is not taking part in the military operations.

Commenting on the activities of the Minsk preparatory group under the aegis of CSCE, Abramyan said that it is Azerbaijan that undermines the international efforts for the peaceful resolution of Karabakh conflict. First, Azerbaijan renounced the agreements on the dispatch of international observers to the region by putting forth preconditions. And yesterday it withdrew from the (?CSCE) talks.

Abramyan underlined that the imposition of blockades against Armenia by Azerbaijan and Turkey are a manifestation of aggression. But, no matter how grave Armenia's condition might be, it will not change its position on the settlement of Karabakh conflict.

Welcomes Security Council Appeal*OW0904040593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0202 GMT 9 Apr 93**[Following item transmitted via KYODO]*

[Text] Armenia welcomes and joins the UN Security Council appeal to cease fire immediately in the Karabakh area and to start negotiations. Aram Abramyan, Armenian president's press secretary who told journalists about this at a Yerevan briefing Thursday [8 April], added that without the participation of the Nagorno-Karabakh authorities "the talks would lack substance." Abramyan reiterated the assurances that "Armenia has never taken part in the hostilities between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh." The press secretary said that Armenia also welcomes the intention of the UN to send its representative to the war zone. "We are sure that he will bear witness to the fact that Armenia is responsible for no provocations on Azerbaijani soil," he went on.

He believes that the world public must keep in the center of its attention the Azerbaijani blockade of Armenia—"as one of the manifestations of the war." He also declared that "no matter how difficult the situation is, the Armenian leadership will not change its position on the Karabakh issue. The government, the people, and the opposition are united on the need to sacrifice for the sake

of our goals." Asked whether Armenia is going to recognize the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, the press secretary said that Yerevan wants an armistice first, to be followed by negotiations on the status of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Says Armenia Supports Cease-Fire Call

LD0804175393 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1600 GMT 8 Apr 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 8 Apr—Armenia aligns itself with appeals made by a number of foreign countries and international organizations for an immediate cessation of combat activities in the zone of the Karabakh conflict, Aram Abramyan, press secretary of the republic's president, has stated. Speaking at a briefing today, he recalled that a week ago President Levon Ter-Petrosyan made a similar appeal to the Nagorno-Karabakh military leadership.

All sides with an interest in restoring peace in the region should realize that there are authorities in Nagorno-Karabakh which are controlling the situation and organizing their self-defense independently, the spokesman for the Armenian leadership noted. In his view, talks will scarcely be successful without their participation.

The press secretary again stated that Armenia has not been taking part and is not taking part in the combat actions which are taking place between the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and Azerbaijan.

Foreign Minister Says No Cease-Fire Accord in Sochi
OW0904100193 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 0944 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenian Foreign Minister Vagan Papazyan stated that the agreement on ceasefire in the zone of the Karabakh conflict, beginning 12:00 on April 9 was not reached in Sochi. "No one put his signature under the agreement," he told *INTERFAX* on Friday [9 April] morning.

To quote Papazyan, during the talks on Thursday near Sochi between Armenia's State Minister for Defense and Security Vazgen Sarkisyan, Azerbaijan's State Secretary Panakh Guseynov and Azerbaijani Vice-Premier Abbas Abbasov, with the mediation of Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev. The talks centered on the withdrawal of Armenian troops from the Kelbadzhar region of Azerbaijan and a ceasefire to be discussed at further talks.

A press spokesman said that a meeting at prime ministerial level between the two nations had been planned to take place in Moscow on April 13.

Defense Minister Comments on Karabakh Fighting

MK0904100693 Moscow *NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian* 9 Apr 93 p 1

[Armen Khanbabayan report under the general heading: "War in Azerbaijan Is Running Its Course. Armenia's Defense Minister Does Not Regard Former Union's Internal Borders as Sacred"]

[Text] The long-awaited press conference by Armenia's Defense Minister Vazgen Manukyan has taken place. It focused mainly on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

According to the war minister, the latest success for the Karabakh self-defense forces can have an appreciable impact on a political solution to the problem and bring Azerbaijan to negotiations. As for Karabakh's status, Manukyan stated that he could not imagine a situation where the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic would remain part of Azerbaijan. Its own army is the only real guarantee of Karabakh's independence, he said; no one would succeed in disarming it by force, and it is practically impossible for Karabakh to be part of Azerbaijan while having its own Armed Forces. As for the principle of inviolability of borders, the minister believes that the former borders inside the Union did not arise from natural processes, as in Europe for example, but were drawn absolutely arbitrarily, hence they cannot be regarded as sacred.

Touching upon statements by Baku officialdom on Armenia's aggression, he stressed that the republic is not waging a war with that country, and he called the Azerbaijani side the aggressor because of the blockade and shelling of Armenian border areas. Regarding the decision by the inhabitants of Karabakh to make a military strike in Kelbadzhar, the minister called this correct because it was of a preemptive nature.

Captured maps from the Azerbaijani headquarters indicated that a major offensive had been planned in Baku in the direction of Nagorno-Karabakh's Mardakertskiy Rayon. The minister expressed bewilderment at the opposition press' inclination to see in what is happening either the "hand of Moscow" or some political deal aimed, in the long term, at carrying out territorial repartitioning unacceptable to Armenia. "All that is absolutely out of keeping with reality," Vazgen Manukyan said. "All that we and the inhabitants of Karabakh have achieved in the military sphere has been accomplished thanks to our own discipline, and, besides, the adage about the invincibility of people fighting for freedom has been confirmed."

The minister spoke well of Armenia-Russia military cooperation stressing, however, that it is still embryonic, and undertakings like joint exercises are a matter of the more remote future.

Government Reaffirms Karabakh Right to Self-Determination*LD0804191893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1826 GMT 8 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 8 Apr—The Armenian authorities are continuing a course toward a peaceful solution to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh and are taking part in all measures aimed at this, continuing to base their policy on the security of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh and their right to self-determination. This is stated in an Armenian Government statement that was issued here today.

The document expresses disquiet at the escalation of military actions in the Karabakh conflict zone, all responsibility for which Yerevan places "on the Republic of Azerbaijan and the aggressive policy pursued by it." At the same time, as the Armenian cabinet considers, the Azerbaijani authorities continue to use every event connected to the Karabakh problem to resolve their internal tasks, a clear example of which is the Azerbaijani presidential decree on the introduction of a state of emergency in its republic.

The Armenian Government drew the attention of the world's countries and the international community to the fact that Yerevan is trying in every possible way to aid the supply of humanitarian aid to the Nakhichevan autonomous republic, while Azerbaijan continues the blockade of Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia with all its resources, at the same time extending its actions into Georgian territory. The statement expresses the Armenian Government's serious concern with regard to the fact that according to unofficial reports, Turkey has decided to cease the transport of international humanitarian aid for Armenia across its territory. This step does not correspond to Turkish statements on its neutral position, the Armenian Government indicated. The Armenian Government considers that the world's countries and international public opinion will condemn Azerbaijan's uncompromising policy, which hinders the process of an immediate cease-fire in the conflict zone without preconditions, the document says.

Azerbaijan**Spokesman Says Reports of Cease-Fire Accord 'Untrue'***OW0904084993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0819 GMT 9 Apr 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mekhman Aliyev, a representative of the Azerbaijani president's press service, said that reports about the ceasefire agreement beginning 12:00, April 9, which were allegedly received in Sochi, were untrue.

The talks in Sochi on April 8 between representatives from Azerbaijan and Armenia with the mediation of Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev covered the withdrawal of the Armenian forces from Azerbaijan's Kelbadzhar region and further talks on ceasefire.

It also announced that in Moscow, on April 13, Azerbaijan's State Secretary Panakh Guseynov was expected to meet Armenian State Minister for Defense and Security Vazgen Sarkisyan.

President Says Republic 'Forced' To Wage War on Armenia*LD0804202193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1732 GMT 8 Apr 93*

[By AZERTAG correspondent Mikhail Kerimov for TASS]

[Text] Baku, 8 Apr—"Armenian politicians are now showing their true colors to the world. It is not by chance that the United States, England, Turkey, and other major world states have demanded that the Armenian Armed Forces abandon the occupied lands of Azerbaijan, thus supporting our country for the first time."

This statement was made today by Azerbaijan President Abulfaz Elchibey at a meeting with the public in Dzhebrail'skiy Rayon, which is situated between the republic's Verkhniy Karabakh and Fizulinskiy Rayon and has been subject to attack by the Armenian Armed Forces. "We are forced," he stressed, "to wage war against the Armenian aggressors, not only through political means, but also through military means."

The president reported that the republic's leadership is doing everything necessary to repulse the aggression and liberate the occupied Azerbaijan territories from the enemy.

During his visit to Fizulinskiy Rayon, Elchibey acquainted himself in detail with the situation in the area of the military actions, and with measures being taken to liberate the villages captured by the Armenian troops and to defend the area. As the president was told by the local executive authority bodies, the population—which had abandoned Fizuli during the difficult days—is now returning.

President Visits Frontline Rayons*NC0804195693 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 8 Apr 93*

[Text] President Elchibey visited frontline rayons on 7 and 8 April. Addressing representatives of Dzhebrail'skiy Rayon in the cultural center in Dzhebrail, he said: Our people are waging a military and political struggle against the Armenian aggression. The [words indistinct] of the Armenian politicians have recently been exposed. The United States, Britain, Turkey, and other influential countries have demanded that Armenian armed units withdraw from Azerbaijan's occupied territories. This is

the first time the world has moved to support Azerbaijan. That is the problem's political and international aspect. The main dilemma is that achieving superiority in the war depends on the people. So an effort should be made to see to it that Azerbaijan's people maintain a good spirit. The people should know that they must maintain their independence and freedom, regardless of the significant pain caused by war. Independence and freedom are honorable concepts, regardless of the sacrifices they may require and the difficulties that may be encountered in the effort to achieve them.

President Elchibey added: I believe we will find an honorable way to remove the difficulties soon. Azerbaijan has the opportunity and resources to become strong and independent. You must put all your disagreements aside and unite at this difficult time for our republic. I am certain the people of Dzhebrail will maintain their steadfast resistance and obstruct rumors and diversions.

President Elchibey said the republic's leaders will do everything they can to free our territory from enemy occupation and to ensure that the work carried out to build our state succeeds soon.

Elchibey also visited Fizulinskiy Rayon. The meeting he held in Fizuli acknowledged the situation. He was briefed on measures taken to defend the rayon and liberate occupied towns. It was stated that people who left the rayon in troubled times are returning to their homes.

President Elchibey held talks in Agdzhabedi with the defenders of Agdzhabedinskiy Rayon. Later he met leading officials. On the situation in our border rayons, Elchibey urged them not to be misled by rumors. He said the occupation of Kelbadzhar must not demoralize the people. Elchibey said that accepting the loss of Kelbadzhar is impossible. He asserted: We will retake Kelbadzhar as soon as possible. We must mobilize all our forces to win.

President Elchibey pointed to the tasks facing the leading officials in Agdzhabedinskiy Rayon.

Elchibey's meeting with leading officials in Agdamskiy Rayon discussed the role of the presidential decree on a state of emergency in establishing peace and removing resistance in the rayon. It was stated that serious measures are being taken to organize the rayon's defense and maintain normal agricultural work. President Elchibey said the recent Armenian aggression has convinced the international community and several influential countries to adopt an objective approach toward Azerbaijan. He also pointed to the need for an effort to struggle against rumors, to strengthen confidence in the success of our just cause, and to boost the people's morale.

Addressing a gathering in front of the Agdamskiy Rayon Executive Authority building, Elchibey urged the people to unite and said we will defeat the enemy. President

Elchibey also held talks with representatives of the Azerbaijani Popular Front, political parties, and social organizations in the rayon.

Karabakh Leadership Lacking Details of Cease-Fire

*LD0904081193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0707
GMT 9 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—The leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh was not informed in detail about the ceasefire agreement reached by Armenia and Azerbaijan on Thursday and which is to come into effect at noon local time.

Most evidently, the agreement concerns border areas of the two republics, Chairman of the Defence Committee of the enclave Robert Kocharyan told TASS by telephone on Friday.

He said Nagorno-Karabakh wants direct talks with Azerbaijan on the problem. "The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, in its turn, is ready for direct talks with the Republic of Azerbaijan on a ceasefire in the zone of combat activities between Karabakh self-defence forces and the Azerbaijani Army", Kocharyan said, adding that "we have several times advanced the initiative, but there was no response from Baku".

Armenians Seize 'Strategically Important' Govshatly

*LD0904110793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1052
GMT 9 Apr 93*

[By AZERTAC correspondent Elchin Sardarov for TASS]

[Text] Baku April 9 TASS—Armenian forces unleashed an offensive in the Fizuli region in south-western Azerbaijan on Friday and seized the strategically important settlement of Govshatly, several kilometres away from the regional centre which sustained considerable damage, according to the Defence Ministry of Azerbaijan.

The seizure of Fizuli will cut off three neighboring regions of Azerbaijan from the rest of the republic, according to military experts. They include Kubatly, Zangelan and Jebail regions.

Armenian forces have concentrated big numbers of military hardware in the region and experts fear that they want to increase the border with Iran at the expense of Azeri territories and to prevent the construction of a new road linking Baku with Nakhichevan, an Azeri enclave cut off from Azerbaijan by Armenia.

Military experts believe Armenians are planning their next strike on three other Azeri regions—Tauz, Kazakh and Akstafin in the north-west of Azerbaijan.

This may allow them to establish control over energy and fuel transporting lines linking Azerbaijan and Georgia and get "an instrument of pressure" not only on Baku, but also on Tbilisi.

On Friday Armenian forces shelled several border settlements in Kubatly, Zangelan and Lachin regions. Casualties were reported.

Defense Ministry Notes New Offensive Against Fizuli

OW0904113793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1122 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the morning April 9, Armenian formations launched a new offensive on the regional center of Fizuli bordering Karabakh, the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry informed INTERFAX. They had already occupied the village of Govshatly not far from the city. Fighting continues 4 kilometers from the center.

According to Baku, Fizuli was being shelled from Grad multiple rocket launchers. Many buildings had been destroyed. Reports of casualties are being verified.

The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry said that the seizure of Fizuli would cut off 4 regions in the south-west of Azerbaijan (Kubatly, Zangelan, Dzhebrail and Fizuli) with a population of about 250,000, from the rest of the republic.

Meanwhile, on April 8, President Elchibey visited Fizuli and a number of regions bordering Karabakh and became acquainted with the position of the refugees from the Kelbadzhar region, occupied by Armenians. The president's press service informed INTERFAX that during a meeting with the refugees, Elchibey noted that as Azerbaijan continued its progression to independence, external military pressure on it increased. This was the main cause of Armenia's military activity, he said. He stated, however, that Azerbaijan would not depart from the path of independence and freedom.

President Introduces Curfew in Baku, Other Towns 9 Apr

NC0804152793 Baku TURAN in English 1200 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] Baku, 8 April (TURAN)—Curfew is introduced in Baku and in a number of other towns of Azerbaijan from 00 o'clock on April 9 by the resolution of Chairman of the State Committee of Defence (SCD) President of the Republic Abulfaz Elchibey.

This measure is aimed at providing of social order in the course of the state of emergency. As it is known by the edict of the president of the Republic state of emergency was introduced on April 5 on the territory of Azerbaijan.

Military Commandants for Transportation, Water Appointed

NC0804203493 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 8 Mar 93

[Order issued by Baku City commandant on 8 April; read by announcer]

[Text] In order to guarantee the normal work of transportation vehicles and organize productive management in the transportation of passengers in Baku City, and in accordance with the Presidential Decree for the Declaration of a State of Emergency in Azerbaijan, dated 2 April 1993, I order the following:

1. Military commandants' offices be created for the railway and air transportation establishments and for the water supply network.

2. The following be appointed military commandants:

Railway transportation: Police Major Etibar Nedzhmeddin ogly Aliyev, deputy head of the Administration of Police.

Air transportation: Police Major Ismail Sabir ogly Asimov, head of the Public Security Department of the Directorate of Police for Transportation and Customs.

Water supply network: Police Major Mamed-Ali Ismail ogly Mamedov, director of Police for the Water Supply Network.

3. In accordance with the Baku City [name indistinct] district military commandant's order No. 2, dated 5 April 1993, Police Major Selchuk Dzhavad ogly Alishanov has been appointed as the commandant of the city's bus station.

[Signed] Police Major General Abdullah Allakhverdiyev, military commandant of Baku City

Georgia

Fighting Continues in Abkhazia Despite Cease-Fire

OW0904102093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1012 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Yesterday, shooting continued along the frontline on the Gumista river near Sukhumi. The Abkhazian Defense Ministry reported that, fulfilling the Russian representatives' request for ceasefire, the Abkhazian forces had not been the first to open fire.

According to sources in Gudauta, in Abkhazia's Ochamchira region Georgian units attempted to attack the villages of Tamysh, Labra and Merkula. During combat operations 20 Georgian soldiers were killed or wounded. The Georgian troops retreated to the initial positions.

In their turn, the Georgian Defense Ministry's press center informed INTERFAX that the Abkhazians had tried to carry out an attack on the villages of Labra and Okhurey. The attacks were rebuffed. The Abkhazians suffered casualties.

Grachev Support for 'Territorial Integrity' Upsets Ossetians

LD0904144393 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0500 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] According to the CONTACT NEWS AGENCY, on 6 April in Sochi, at the meeting of the Russian and Georgian delegations, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev officially expressed his point of view about Georgia's territorial integrity for the first time. In particular, he said that Abkhazia and South Ossetia are indivisible parts of Georgia and that they will abide by this principle. In the long run, the message that the territorial integrity of Georgia is of great importance to Russia itself has got through to Russia's highest ranking military officials. It is natural that the Ossetian extremists reacted most negatively to Grachev's statement.

Kulumbegov [speaker of the South Ossetian parliament and chairman of the Council of Ministers] and Chochiyev [deputy chairman of the South Ossetian executive committee] will, for their part, try to protest against the Russian authorities as a result of the statement made by Minister of Defense Grachev. But level-headed people understand that one ought not set Russia against oneself as it might cut aid to the Ossetian population of Tskhinvali.

Caucasus Peoples, Cossacks To Resolve Issues Peacefully

MK0904074893 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 8 Apr 93 p 10

[Oleg Medvedev commentary: "Mountain People and Cossacks Talk in Pitsunda. Cossacks and Mountain People Agreed To Live in Peace"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A "roundtable" on Cossacks' problems sponsored by the Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus ended in Pitsunda yesterday. During its sessions representatives of the Cossacks of Russia's South and the Confederation signed an agreement recording the sides' renunciation of territorial claims against one another, and an undertaking to solve all possible issues through negotiation. Oleg Medvedev comments on the meeting's results.

The North Caucasus Cossacks community consisting of Cossacks of the Don, Kuban, and Terek includes the Cossacks who live on the territory of Rostov Oblast, Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays, as well as those of Karachay-Cherkessia, Dagestan, Chechnya, Ingushetia, Adygea, and other republics. The Russian population accounts for more than a quarter of the population of the North Caucasus republics.

The Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus is a public and political organization founded in 1989. It advocates the creation of a confederative union of states and peoples of the Caucasus.

Relations between the Cossacks, mountain people, and other non-Slav peoples of the Caucasus is one of the most involved problems facing Russian leaders. The potential for a conflict between the Cossacks and mountain people is high owing to the complicated history of their relations and differences of culture and views on the future of the Russian Federation. The Cossacks are natural supporters of the idea of preserving Russia's territorial integrity in this region. Nevertheless, Cossacks sometimes slip into actions that contradict the Constitution and provoke destabilization, and take steps damaging to the non-Cossack population's interests. In this situation, the Russian president's recent edict on the Cossacks drew a negative reaction in the North Caucasus republics.

Therefore, the very fact of yesterday's meeting between the "Confederates" and Cossacks merits a positive assessment, not to mention the fact that concrete positive understandings were reached between them. Confederation President Musa Shanibov stated after the documents were signed: "Those who are trying to unleash a Caucasus-wide war could not sleep last night: They could see that the Confederation has not only entered into contact with the Cossacks, but it also achieved complete agreement with them in all areas." There are also some other examples where dialogues were opened: On 6 April, the Rostov Oblast administration and representatives of the Don Cossacks and of Chechnya signed a protocol on joint action to stabilize the situation in places where Chechens live in Rostov Oblast. The document is necessary because of the more frequent conflicts of late between Russian residents in the Don steppes and Chechens who graze sheep there.

Soslambekov, Gamsakhurdia on Caucasian Conflicts

LD0804180393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 7 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Ponomarev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] INTERFAX today quotes Yusup Soslambekov, chairman of the Confederation of the Peoples of Caucasus, who has said that the Russian president will not be supported by the Caucasian peoples at the referendum if the Russian policy of flirting with Georgia continues.

We also received today the text of a statement by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who is still involved in political activities in Chechnya. The document says that it is not the Russian people who are the enemy of Georgia, but the nomenclature from which all the trouble in the former Soviet Union has resulted. Gamsakhurdia called upon the Abkhazian side to refrain from declaring full state independence because, in his opinion, that would mean

the population of western Georgia of 1.5 million people would be drawn into the conflict.

Gamsakhurdia appealed to both sides—not for the first time, as a matter of fact—to begin negotiations as soon

as possible, without resorting to arms. In this connection, one can understand the position of the Abkhazian defense minister, who has expressed his surprise at the fact that a cease-fire agreement was reached at the Russian-Georgian talks in Sochi, without representatives of the Abkhazian Armed Forces participating.

Estonia

Radio Free Europe Chief Appointed Ambassador to U.S.

OW0904103593 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1019
GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A decree signed by Estonia's President, Lennart Meri, on April 8 gives the diplomatic rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Toomas Hendrik Ilves, the leader of the Estonian office of "Radio Free Europe".

According to the information available to BALTFAX, Ilves is to be appointed as Estonia's ambassador to the USA.

President Urges West To Alter Attitude to Russia

OW0904094093 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0531
GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian President Lennart Meri recommends the West to alter its attitude to Russia. In an interview he granted to the German DIE WELT and reprinted by the Estonian PAEVALEHT he said that the West regards President Boris Yeltsin as "Miss World". He stressed that the West is not speaking of principles, democracy or reforms, only of personalities. In his opinion Yeltsin is sooner a symbol of democracy than a real politician. He doubted that a person born and nurtured inside the Communist party machinery can be a democrat.

Meri feels that there are influential pro-empire circles in Russia that do not intend to let Estonia out of the sphere of their influence. The threat of use of force against Estonia remains.

Meri is convinced that even among Russian democrats the belief is widely spread that Russia should remain within its old if not greater borders.

The president thinks that Russia is not ready to join the community of European states. He said Russia would be mature for Europe only by the middle of the next century.

Defense Force Spokesman Says No Russian Aircraft in Country

OW0904043893 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0208
GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The main staff of Estonia's Defense Forces reported to BALTFAX that there is not a single bomber, fighter, or transport aircraft belonging to the Russian Air Forces.

As it was reported earlier, Vasilii Svirin, head of the Russian delegation at the bilateral negotiations with Estonia, declared at a press conference on Wednesday [7 April] that currently 27 Russian aircraft still remain on Estonian territory.

The main staff of Estonia's Defense Forces told our BALTFAX correspondent that "Svirin has made an error." According to the Estonian party, there are only 10 helicopters belonging to the Rakvere Russian frontier detachment. From time to time transport aircraft stationed in Russia fly to Estonia for equipment and property of the withdrawn military units.

The Estonian Party has taken under its control military aerodromes in Tartu, Haapsalu, and Sauga, an aerodrome in Amari is to be shortly transferred to Estonia.

Minister Calls Moscow Trade Deal 'Step Back'

OW0904063193 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2119
GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Minister Juri Luik has qualified an agreement on most favored nation regime in trade reached during the most recent round of the Russo-Estonian negotiations concluded on Wednesday [7 April] "as a step back." Responding to our BALTFAX correspondent at a press conference in Tallinn concerning the character of this agreement, the minister noted that this agreement is primarily aimed at the liquidation of a slump in economic relations with the eastern neighbor. The Estonian party has concluded this agreement because the agreement on free trade, reached earlier and a more beneficial one is practically not in use. Juri Luik explained "the paralysis" of this agreement by the fact that the former Premier Yegor Gaydar and people making up his team have left the political arena. "But we are not going to bury this agreement," he said.

The minister expressed the hope that the most favored nation regime will be a provisional stage on the way to true freedom in the sphere of economic relations between two countries. "As before, in Russia there are many supporters of truly democratic transformations in relations between our countries," said Luik.

Speaking about the "military basket" at the negotiations, the minister indicated that the preparation of an agreement on withdrawal of the Russian forces has reached its final stage. The most difficult issues related to military property, compensation for the damage inflicted by the Russian Army to the environment, and several others are still to be solved.

Luik qualified the assertions of the Russian party stating that it has presented a draft of a new, more constructive agreement on military issues as "propaganda." "Basically, the previous document, is simply slightly more concrete," said Luik.

He disagreed with assertions by several opposition parties on the failure of the negotiations.

"It is difficult to hold a dialogue in a situation where the other side is conducting this dialogue to the accompaniment of hostile statements and when Estonia is viewed as a hostile state in Russia. Nevertheless, the last round of negotiations has demonstrated that now Moscow is trying to understand our demands," declared Luik.

The minister found it inexpedient to implement the opposition's proposal to conduct TV-debates on negotiations with Russia before the next May round of negotiations.

Foreign Minister Continues Visit to Budapest

OW0904092093 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0530 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste, who arrived in Budapest for an official visit, was received by Hungarian President Arpad Goncz on Wednesday [7 April].

The Estonian Foreign Ministry's press service reports that earlier, Velliste had had talks with his Hungarian counterpart Geza Jeszenszky.

The two ministers stated that cooperation between the Finno-Ugric peoples must be broadened and that the small Finno-Ugric ethnic groups living in Russia, should be given support.

The two officials also reached the agreement on setting up a bilateral commission on trade and economic issues. According to the Estonian Foreign Ministry's press center, Trivimi Velliste and Geza Jeszenszky signed a protocol on cooperation between the Estonian and Hungarian foreign ministries.

Velliste is expected to return to Tallinn on Thursday [8 April] evening.

Lithuania

Russian Official Assures Troops To Be Withdrawn 'on Time'

OW0804150693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1433 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Russian parliament's Committee for Defense and Security Sergey Stepashin, who is currently in Lithuania, and Russia's Ambassador to Lithuania Nikolay Obyortyshev told Lithuanian diplomats and members of the state delegation to the Russian-Lithuanian talks that Vilnius should not be worried about the withdrawal of the Russian troops.

Stepashin told the Lithuanian parliament's National Security Committee that the Russian Army would be withdrawn on time.

He also proposed discussing the Russian and Lithuanian interior ministries' cooperation in combating crime and training personnel.

Further on Withdrawal

OW0804224593 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2119 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sergey Stepashin, Chairman of the Defense and Security Committee of the Russian parliament, who was empowered by the president and defense and foreign ministers to make this statement, told journalists in Vilnius at the end of his three day visit to Lithuania Thursday [8 April] that the Russian troops will be pulled out of Lithuania as scheduled (before August 31, 1993 - BF [BALTFAX]).

In response to a Baltfax question Stepashin said that he joins the consensus of opinions that Lithuania shows a constructive and civilized European-like approach to all problems ranging from the pull out of Russian troops to human rights to national minority rights, in particular the rights of Russian citizens. For this reason, he thinks, a range of accords can be signed shortly in economic as well as political spheres.

Stepashin went on to say that Russia uses the same approach in its relations with Latvia and Estonia. On behalf of his parliamentary committee and the Russian Foreign Ministry he called for separating the issues of troop withdrawal and human rights. These problems, he believes, can be solved through diplomatic, political, and economic channels.

Stepashin welcomed the Lithuanian proposal that state delegations of the two countries meet before the Russian referendum. He also believes that there is enough common ground for the defense establishments of the two countries to make contacts. He thinks that the law enforcement agencies of the two countries can cooperate in fighting organized crime, corruption, and drug trafficking.

A new stage, he said, starts in the Russo-Lithuanian relations based on equality, partnership, sovereignty, and independence.

He emphasized that his mission, building solid interparliamentary relations between the two countries, had been a success.

The head of the Russian parliamentary delegation said that his meeting with President Algirdas Brazauskas of Lithuania Thursday was very fruitful and that both President Boris Yeltsin and Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khazbulatov are interested in establishing personal contacts with the new leadership of Lithuania.

When the news conference was over he told Baltfax that Pavel Grachev, Russia's Defense Minister, will visit Lithuania before the end of April.

Ends Visit, Comments

LD0904035693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1992
GMT 8 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius April 8 TASS—Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the Russian Parliament Committee on Defence and Security, ended visit to Lithuania on Thursday.

On Thursday morning Stepashin had a meeting with the leadership of the territorial Defence Ministry of the Republic and on Thursday afternoon he gave a press conference for local and foreign journalists in the building of the Sejm (parliament) of Lithuania, summing up the results of his three-day stay in Vilnius.

The Russian committee chief said in particular that during the talks with Lithuanian leaders and members of the Sejm National Security Committee he had set out Russia's clear-cut stand on the withdrawal of Russian troops from the territory of Lithuania and his country's striving for cooperation, specifically that in the training of officer personnel, interparliamentary contacts, and in action to fight growing crime.

As far as the troop withdrawal issue is concerned, Stepashin said "Russia will faithfully observe the troop withdrawal time-table signed in Moscow on September 8, 1992. The army is to be withdrawn before August 31, this year. Russian Defence Minister Grachev personally confirmed this to me before my departure for Lithuania".

Santara Coalition Issues Statement on Union With Russia

WS0904101293 Vilnius LIETUVOS AIDAS in
Lithuanian 13 Mar 93 No. 48 p 6

[Statement by the Seimas Homeland Santara coalition issued in Vilnius on 9 March: "On Lithuania's Current Policy of Joining Into Economic and Other Structures With Russia"]

[Text] In light of numerous attempts to revive the Soviet empire, not only through military force but also through

different economic and other structures; on 8 June 1992, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania adopted a constitutional document: "On Lithuania's Nonalignment Toward any Post-Soviet Eastern Unions." The document became an integral part of the Lithuanian Constitution adopted by referendum.

The former LDLP [Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party] programmatic principles of "economic independence," "sovereignty within the USSR framework," and "a flexible and diplomatic policy toward the USSR" have been reformulated as "a flexible policy with Russia" which also "serves the interests of its large neighbors." Such political principles have given the Russian imperial forces new hopes to draw Lithuania into their post-imperial structures. This has caused great damage to Lithuania's independence. The current implementation of these principles by the LDLP government poses a real threat to Lithuanian sovereignty.

The Seimas Homeland Santara Coalition demands that the president of the Republic of Lithuania, the LDLP Seimas majority, and the government do not accept any proposal that would directly or indirectly tie Lithuania with the collective CIS structures.

The following methods are being applied to achieve this objective:

- the rebuilding of the key "complexes of the USSR national economy" and the common CIS structures for the purpose of managing and coordinating the key industries. Also, attempting to secure Lithuanian participation in these structures as an associate member or under some other status;
- promotion of the entry of Russian capital into key Lithuanian industries and particularly the energy and transport industry. Also, attempting to take control over these industries through economic associations, "interweaving" of the Lithuanian and the Russian assets, and the setting up of joint ventures;
- linking the Lithuanian and Russian financial and credit systems. For example, through the establishment of the so-called CIS bank for interstate payments, and drawing Lithuania back to the ruble zone;
- attempting to make sure that Western credits for investments in Lithuania are somehow related to credits for Russia and other CIS states;
- cooperation in the defense and military sphere, and the legalization of the presence of Russian servicemen who must be withdrawn;
- coordination of the positions of the two countries by participating in the work of international organizations, etc.

These aspirations are reflected in all draft agreements proposed by Russia. It is obvious that an "integrated asset"—a common financial and credit system, and a joint coordination of the economy and policy—would

lead to political integration. Certainly, Lithuania which is integrated with the East could cooperate with the West, but only as a region tied to the CIS.

The LDLP government has already begun to implement a policy which is far from flexible and could be defined as an uphill policy.

In disregarding Lithuania's laws and former positions which Russia has accepted, the government decided to reorganize the military repair plants as joint ventures with Russia. The government has also leased to a Russian state concern—thus far under fixed-term conditions—half of the Mazeikiai oil refining facilities. The Russian press has reported that there are plans to establish a joint Russian-Lithuanian air transport enterprise that would also incorporate the Ariogala airport, and employ those servicemen who must be withdrawn.

Another dangerous move is the government decision to participate in the Surgut talks on the restoration of the Russian oil and gas extraction and refining industries by setting up an "oil and gas council"—a real confederation of these industries—together with the CIS countries. Russian proposals on coal, steel, bank, and other confederations are the next in line.

The people's will expressed at the referendum, the constitution, and the oath of allegiance authorize all of us to safeguard Lithuanian independence. This holds particularly true for the president of the Republic of Lithuania,

the Seimas, and the government. The people's mandate does not grant the LDLP the right to neglect its will concerning the fundamental issues of state existence.

The Seimas Homeland Santara coalition warns the ruling party that the responsibility for the effects of such policies will rest not only with the LDLP top leaders, but also with the supporters of such policy. Their responsibility will not be diminished even if the damage to Lithuania's vital interests and independence is caused by ignorance and caution.

We state that in the face of the real threat we will lean on the nation and will apply all constitutional measures to resist any attempts of betraying the goals of 11 March, the violations the constitution, and attempts to draw Lithuania into any post-Soviet unions.

We expect the president of the Republic of Lithuania to invoke his constitutional authority in order to outline foreign policy objectives that would conform with the will of the people and the principles of independence contained in the constitution. [Signed] Citizens' Charter Faction

Freedom Faction

Sajudis Faction

Democratic Party Faction

Christian Democratic Party Faction [Dated] Vilnius, 9 March 1993